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THE NEW HAMPSHIRE LAWYER IN  
GENERAL WASHINGTON'S ARMY

OSCAR E. RISING

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**A NEW HAMPSHIRE LAWYER IN  
GEN. WASHINGTON'S ARMY**









*John Sullivan*

Major General, the Hon. John "Yankee" Sullivan, 1740-1795, Commander-in-Chief of the "Sullivan Expedition" against the Six Indian Nations in 1779. Governor of the State of New Hampshire, (president of the province). United States district judge, for the district of N. H., 1789-95, and friend of George Washington.

From a portrait by Otis, painted about 1772, and now in the State House at Concord, N. H. This picture shows him in the uniform of a Major of provincial militia.

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# A New Hampshire Lawyer in General Washington's Army

A Biographical Sketch of the  
HON. JOHN SULLIVAN, LL.D.,

Major General in the Continental Army

And an Account of the Expedition under his command  
against the Six Indian Nations in 1779

By  
OSCAR E. RISING

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FIRST EDITION

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1915

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## DEDICATION

TO THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER, ARVILLA  
CATHERINE RISING, WHO BELIEVED WHEN  
OTHERS DOUBTED, AND WHO IS NOW NUM-  
BERED WITH THE ALL WISE THOUGH SPEECH-  
LESS DEAD, THIS BOOK IS LOVINGLY DEDI-  
CATED, BY HER SON.

3-31-50 24 n. d. n. e. n.



## A FOREWORD

**W**HILE preparing this sketch of General Sullivan's life, I have been dominated by the feeling that it behooves the people who live in the Susquehanna, Lehigh, Chemung, Mohawk and Genesee Valleys, to know more about their Revolutionary forefathers and the great work that those old fellows in buff and blue did for the advancement of civilization and the planting of the tree of liberty in our soil, the shade of which we of today enjoy. John Sullivan, standing amid his band of 4,000 devoted Continentals, forcing their way out into the wilderness against the savage tribes, is to me, the sublimest spectacle the history of our country furnishes.

"God bless John Sullivan's heroes of 1779,  
For their brave deeds of soldier daring,  
Which broke the chain of the Iroquois line,  
And brought the peace we are this day sharing."

General Sullivan was my maternal grandfather's great-uncle, and therefore I have the honor to be a great-great-grand nephew of the hearty old patriot General. For Col. Hubley's Journal, and General Sullivan's report, as well as the roster of officers, I am indebted to "General John Sullivan's Indian Expedition in 1779," which was compiled by the late George S. Conover, of Geneva, N. Y., and published by the State of New York in 1887.

I use this foreword as a medium to convey my thanks to the Reynolds Library of Rochester, N. Y., for allowing me the free use of reference works, of which, I regret to say, there are not many, for strange as it may seem to many of my readers, the story of General Sullivan's

Expedition does not fill as large a page in our history, as do the accounts of Burgoyne's invasion, or the siege of Yorktown.

To some it may seem out of place for one to write of one's own ancestors, but to quote from Goethe: "Happy he who with bright regard, looks back upon his father's fathers, who with joy recounts their deeds of grace, and in himself, values the latent link in the fair chain of noble sequences."

I hand this little book over to the American people, (many of whom are descendants of "Yankee" Sullivan's men), in the hope that it may find a few readers among the millions of knowledge seekers in our land. If it succeeds in doing so, I will feel that my labor in preparing it has not been in vain, and will be entirely satisfied.

OSCAR E. RISING.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., April, 1914.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

- Major General John Sullivan (Frontispiece).**
- The Home of General Sullivan at Durham, N. H.**
- The Old Sullivan Monument on Newtown battlefield.**
- The New Sullivan Monument on Newtown battlefield.**
- The Sullivan Memorial at Canandaigua, N. Y.**
- Boulder at Fort Sullivan (Athens, Pa.)**
- Outline of Fort Sullivan.**
- The Marker at Wysox, Pa.**
- The Old Athens Academy.**
- Standing Stone Rock in the Susquehanna River.**





# A NEW HAMPSHIRE LAWYER IN GEN. WASHINGTON'S ARMY

## CHAPTER I

Though generations have gone since then,  
And scenes of life are often shifted,  
We see John Sullivan and his men,  
As mists of a hundred years and more are lifted.

**O**NE day in the year 1723, a young Irishman, accompanied by a young woman, landed from a small sailing vessel at Berwick, Maine. The young man's name was Owen O'Sullivan, and he was a descendant of Donall O'Sullyvan, Lord of Bearehaven, in the time of "good Queen Bess." The young woman was his sweetheart. A few years after their arrival at Berwick, they were married, and took up their residence in Somersworth, New Hampshire, just across the river from Berwick.

Seventeen years after their arrival in the Colonies, (on the 17th of February, 1740), a son was born to them, whom they christened John. This son grew to manhood, and under his father's tuition received a good education, and took up the study of law, and having qualified himself for the practice of his chosen profession, he "hung out his shingle" in the little town of Durham, in southeastern New Hampshire, and soon became a prominent man in the community. Then the cloud of the revolution appeared on the horizon, and in September 1774, he was chosen as a delegate to the first Continental Congress, then assembling at Carpenter's Hall, in Philadelphia. Upon his return from Congress, he and a friend by the name of John Langdon, led a raid on Fort William and

Mary at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, from which they carried off all the cannon, and ammunition which consisted of 97 kegs of powder, which they hid under the pulpit of Durham Church. On the 19th of the following April, (1775), the great drama of the revolution opened at Lexington, and on the 17th of June, 1775, the Battle of Bunker Hill was fought, where several cart loads of this powder was used, and while Charlestown was wrapped in flames, and the loud hurrahs were resounding over the American lines, Congress was voting the appointment of George Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army; at the same time they appointed eight Brigadier Generals, John Sullivan being one of them. Soon after his appointment he proceeded to headquarters at Cambridge, Massachusetts. In 1776 he was put in command of the troops in Canada, but on his arrival at the Sorel River, he found the army just leaving the province. He at once directed General Thompson to attack the British at Three Rivers, but the attack was poorly planned and poorly carried out. He was compelled to retreat, and fell back on Crown Point, where soon after General Gates arrived to supersede him. His fiery and independent nature rebelled at finding a junior officer promoted over him, and he hastened away to Congress to offer his resignation, but the President of Congress persuaded him to retain his command, telling him he was too valuable a man to be lost to the service. This appealed to Sullivan's natural vanity, so he withdrew his resignation, and joined the army of Washington. He commanded a few regiments in the battle of Long Island, and withstood the combined attacks, of DeHeister and Clinton, being compelled to face his troops both ways to meet this double enemy. He struggled desperately

for three hours to save his troops, but was at last compelled to surrender, but was soon exchanged for the British General Prescott. Again joining the army, he was made a Major General, and was put at the head of one of the divisions.

In the summer of 1777 Sullivan's division was stationed at Hanover, New Jersey, where he planned an unsuccessful attack on Staten Island. For this expedition he was much blamed, and a court of inquiry called to sit on his conduct, but he was honorably acquitted.

He commanded the right wing of the army at the battle of Brandywine where he suffered a defeat, the loss of two of his aides, and had his own horse shot from under him. He escaped without injury to himself.

The caution of Washington had prevented any decisive engagement during the early part of the year 1777, but the march of the British toward Philadelphia induced him to hazard a battle. His army met that of Howe near the Brandywine River, and after a long and fierce battle, Howe obtained a decisive victory over the Americans and entered Philadelphia.

General Sullivan has been blamed, and unjustly so, for the loss of this battle, the brunt of which was borne by his division and that of "Mad Anthony" Wayne, who is best known as the hero of Stony Point.

The British loss at Brandywine was estimated at six hundred men in killed and wounded, and the fact that the American loss was about one thousand, shows how firmly Sullivan had contested his ground.

In the early morning of the 4th of October, 1777, the battle of Germantown was fought, where General Sullivan commanded one of the divisions, and throughout the entire "engagement" he conducted himself nobly

and won new honors", and when his troops, becoming panic-stricken, fled, he tried bravely but in vain, by voice and example, to rally them. When the army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, Sullivan was there, and was as ever, ready to bear his share of the hardships. While the American troops were laying at Valley Forge in a half starved, half naked, and wholly wretched condition, during the winter of 1777-1778, he became destitute, and asked permission of Washington to return to his New Hampshire home for the purpose of raising funds to meet his pressing personal needs, but the shrewd, far-seeing Washington, seeing the detrimental effect this would have on his tattered soldiery, prevailed on Sullivan to remain until spring, and so great was his love for Washington that he withdrew his temporary resignation and remained. If Gen. Sullivan had not been of too kind and generous a heart to ask for the interest on money that he had loaned, he would not have found himself in so destitute a condition at Valley Forge, but as he thought the people had burdens enough to bear without paying interest on the money that he had loaned, and as he never allowed himself to be guided by—

The good old rule,  
The simple plan,  
That they should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can,—

he acted like the noble man he was and bore the burden of want without a murmur.

In the month of March, 1778, he was given the command of the army in Rhode Island, where he was retained until the early spring of 1779, when he was offered and accepted the command-in-chief of that picturesque and decisive expedition against the Six Indian Nations, where

he rendered his name immortal, and of which I will now speak.

But before we accompany John Sullivan and his men on their great march into and through the country of the Six Nations, let us take a brief glance at that picturesque and now almost extinct people, who were, for many centuries "the brave ordainers of imperial law for western wilds." The once proud and all-conquering Iroquois.

#### A GLANCE AT THE IROQUOIS

The Six Nations were originally the Five Nations, and were composed of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. But in the year 1712, the Tuscaroras came north from South Carolina, and begged the privilege of "spreading their blankets" among the Five Nations. This was granted them, and they were given land between the Onondagas and Cayugas, but were never allowed to send a sachem to the council fires of their imperious protectors. The English called the league the "Six Nations." The French called them the "Iroquois" and the Dutch, "mingoes." Their own name for their league was "Ho-do-no-sau-nee." "The People of the Long House." They were almost constantly at war with the Hurons upon the North, and the Delawares upon the South, and their conquests extended north into Canada, and as far westward as the Mississippi River. At the zenith of their power they numbered about 25,000 people, and held dominion over all the land of what is now in New York State, with the exception of a strip west of the Genesee River.

The Mohawks were the door-keepers upon the east, while the Senecas guarded the western door of the "long house."

At the time of Sullivan's Expedition they had reached a high state of civilization, and lived in well built, and painted log houses. Their villages were surrounded by large fields of corn, squashes, water-melons, beans, cucumbers, etc., besides large orchards of apple and peach trees. Some of the orchards contained as many as twelve hundred trees, and were of great age, having been planted by the Jesuit Fathers, a century before. At the time of which we write, Joseph Brant, was the great war-chief of the Six Nations, and he led his dusky followers on many a murderous raid, but it is not known for certain that he was in command of the Indians at Cherry Valley. He was a highly civilized Indian and well educated. In his old age he translated the Bible into the Mohawk tongue. He died at a good old age, on his estate in Canada. He was a brother-in-law of \*Sir William Johnson, his sister (Molly), being Sir William's squaw-wife. The principal though not the largest village of the Senecas, was Kanadasaga, which stood on the site of the present city of Geneva, N. Y. It contained about 50 well built houses, and was surrounded by large orchards of apple and peach trees. The burial mound of the Senecas, at this place, can still be seen.

When the army reached here, about sundown of Sept. 7th, they found the town deserted by the Indians, (they having fled to Kanandaigua, sixteen miles farther west) and not a living thing in sight, except a male white child, about three years old. General Sullivan took a personal interest in the little waif and had it placed in a large basket on a pack-horse load. It shared all the vicissitudes of the campaign, and was afterwards taken to New

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\*NOTE. Sir William Johnson, the founder of Johnstown, N. Y., and his Majesty's Commissioner of Indian Affairs for North America.

Windsor, New York, where it soon died of the smallpox, no clue to its identity was ever discovered, but it was doubtless the offspring of some unhappy captive. Sullivan's raid broke forever the power of the Iroquois, who, as allies of the British, constantly harassed the patriots of Central New York. The redskins were the most dreaded enemy the colonists had to reckon with in the war for our independence, for they had respect for neither the helplessness of women and children, nor the infirmities of age. Often as he hurried to war did the patriot shudder at the thought of what might happen to his loved ones in his absence. Only too frequently were his worst fears realized as he returned to find his home in ashes, and his wife and children killed, or carried into captivity. In the month of July, 1778, the beautiful valley of Wyoming was laid waste, and on Sunday morning, the 11th of November, 1778, the horrible massacre of Cherry Valley was perpetrated, when the Indians under the leadership of the famous Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant (?) (Thayendanegea was his Indian name) and the Tories, under the command of that fiend in human form, Colonel Walter Butler, descended upon this thrifty settlement (which was founded in 1740) and murdered the men, women and children, regardless of age or sex.

It was then that Washington with martial ardor,  
Called Sullivan in haste to go,  
And cross the Indian's forest border,  
And lay his field and orchards low.

For the Iroquois had lighted,  
A thousand fires of hate and scorn,  
From Cherry Valley's homes affrighted,  
To fair Wyoming's vale forlorn."

It was Washington's intention to offer the command of this Expedition to Major General Horatio Gates, as



will be seen by a perusal of the following letter from Washington to the President of Congress:

(LETTER OF GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS, APRIL 14TH, 1779)

“The plan of operations for the campaign being determined, a commanding officer was to be appointed for the Indian Expedition. This command, according to all present appearances, will probably be of the second, if not of the first, importance for the campaign. The officer conducting it has a flattering prospect of acquiring more credit than can be expected by any other this year; and he has the best reason to hope for success.

Gen. Lee, from his situation, was out of the question; Gen. Schuyler was so uncertain of continuing in the army, that I could not appoint him; Gen. Putnam I need not mention. I therefore make the offer of it, for the appointment could no longer be delayed, to Gen. Gates, who was next in seniority, though, perhaps, I might have avoided it, if I had been so disposed, from his being in a command by the special appointment of Congress. My letter to him on the occasion, I believe you will think was conceived in very candid and polite terms, and that it merited a different answer from the one given to it.

G. WASHINGTON.”

—But General Gates refused the command of the expedition for the reasons stated in the following reply to Washington’s letter, offering him the appointment.

Lieut. General Washington:

Dear Sir:

“Last night I had the honor of your Excellency’s letter. The man who undertakes the Indian service,

*should enjoy youth and strength*; requisites I do not possess. It therefore grieves me that your Excellency should offer me the only command to which I am entirely unequal. In obedience to your command, I have forwarded your letter to Gen. Sullivan, etc.

HORATIO GATES, M. G.

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The letter from Washington to Sullivan which Gen. Gates referred to in the above letter, ran as follows:

“HEADQUARTERS, MIDDLE BROOK,  
March 6th, 1779.

Major General Sullivan:

Dear Sir:

Congress having determined upon an Expedition against the hostile tribes of the Indians of the Six Nations, the command is offered to Maj. Gen. Gates as Senior officer, but should he decline, it is my wish it should devolve upon you. That no time may be lost by General Gates' nonacceptance, I have put this letter under cover to him, and have desired him to forward it to you, should that be his determination. Should it therefore be sent to you I must request you to set out, as speedily as possible after the rec't of it, to Head Quarters, as the season is already far advanced. Upon your arrival, the whole plan of the Expedition shall be communicated to you, and measures concerted for carrying it into execution. Nothing will contribute more to our success in the quarter where we really intend to strike, than alarming the enemy in a contrary one, and drawing their attention that way. To do this, you may drop hints of an Expedition to Canada by the way of Coos. This will be more readily believed, as a thing of that kind was really once in agitation, and

some Magazines formed in consequence, which the enemy are acquainted with. You may also speak of the probability of a French Fleet making its appearance, in the Spring, in the river St. Lawrence to co-operate with us. It will be a great point gained if we can, by false alarms, keep the force already in Canada from affording any timely assistance to the Savages, refugees and those people against whom the blow is leveled. I would wish you to keep the motive of your journey to Head Quarters a secret, because if it is known that an officer of your rank is to take a command to the westward, it will be immediately concluded that the object must be considerable.

I am, with great regard, Dear Sir,

Your most Obedient Servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

"Major General Sullivan."

The command of the expedition having been refused by General Gates was promptly accepted by General Sullivan, but the plans for carrying it on was not agreeable to his mind, nor was the number of men destined for it sufficient, in his opinion, to insure its success. He had, early in April, 1779, received from the heads of the quartermaster, and commissary departments, assurances that everything would be in a perfect state of readiness upon his arrival at Easton, Pa., where the main army was mobilized, but on his arrival there he was informed by Brigadier General Edward Hand (who then commanded at that post), that there was not the least prospect of the boats or stores being in readiness in season. Bancroft, in his history of the United States, says that if Sullivan had not spent his time "writing strange theological essays" the expedition would have gotten under way sooner.

Now such a statement is absurd. While he was a man of a high order of intellect, and could, doubtless, have written theological essays, had he been so inclined, it is ridiculous to think that a man of his sound common sense, would have wasted his time in doing so, and moreover at a time when his entire attention was occupied with military affairs. Bancroft also says that "Sullivan was so puffed up with the honors of command that it was almost out of the question to deal with him." While it is true that he had a slight streak of vanity and conceit in his nature, he was not a man to be puffed up with the honors of command for it was not the first time that he had had such honors. There were no theological writings found among General Sullivan's papers, after his death, and I do not believe that he ever wrote any. It was the fault of Congress alone that the army did not get started sooner than it did. Lieut. Colonel Adam Hubley, in his journal, says: "Whilst I revere the merit and virtue of the army I am sorry I am under the necessity of mentioning that there was an unparalleled and unpardonable neglect (and which ought not to pass with impunity), in those whose business it was to supply them (the army) with a sufficient quantity of necessaries to carry them through the expedition, instead of which not more than 22 days flour, and 16 days meat was on hand when it commenced."

The Executive Counsel of Pennsylvania agreed to furnish 700 rangers and riflemen, and the President of Pennsylvania (Reed), promised that they would be ready in season, but not a man of them joined the army. The reason for this was, that the quarter-master offered such good wages to boatmen that they all enlisted into the boat service, but this was a mistake, for they had scarcely a hundred boatmen engaged for the army, and only 42

pack-horsemen, so that Sullivan was obliged to draft 900 for boatmen and pack-horsemen.

This reduced the army to 1,412 men, and from these he had to deduct 150 for cattle drivers and for the artillery, which left him only 1,262 men, and more than a third of them were without a shirt to their backs. With this force he was expected to advance against an enemy which was allowed to be 2,000 strong, and who had been lately reenforced with 700 British troops from Canada. In a letter to Congress sent from Wyoming late in July, 1779, General Sullivan said: "I need not mention that it is easy for the enemy to act with their whole force against either part of our army before the junction with Clinton is formed, and that common prudence will prompt to this. I have, therefore, nothing to rely on but the ardor and well known bravery of my troops, which I trust will surmount all opposition, but should a defeat take place, and the ruin of the army be the consequence, whether I do or not perish in the action, I call upon the members of Congress to witness to the world that I early foresaw and foretold the danger, and used every means in my power to secure a force sufficient to insure success, but failed to obtain it."

Following is a complete roster of officers of Sullivan's division, divided into brigades and regiments. The 4th brigade 1,600 strong, under the command of Brigadier General James Clinton, started in the Mohawk Valley to join Sullivan at Tioga Point (now Athens, Pa.). His march was through an unbroken wilderness. As there were no roads, their provisions were loaded in boats and floated up the small streams, and there the freight, boats and all, were carried by the men to the headwaters of another stream. They had little trouble until they reached

Otsego Lake, and from this point they expected less as the outlet of the lake formed the Susquehanna River. But the weather was hot and for many weeks there had been no rain. The river had not water enough to float the boats and for a time Clinton thought he would be obliged to turn back, but just as he was about to give up in despair, he hit upon a scheme which promised success. He caused a dam to be built across the Susquehanna, just where it flows out of Lake Otsego. His soldiers rolled in great boulders from the fields and filled the spaces between with brush and clay so the water could not flow out freely. This caused the lake to rise, and in three weeks it was six feet above its summer level. The boats were then made ready with the provisions and men aboard, and the dam was torn down. The waters flooded the banks of the narrow stream and the whole brigade was carried down to the place of meeting with Sullivan in safety.

The Indians along the stream saw this sudden rise of the waters and they were much frightened, no rain had fallen in weeks, and the only way they could account for it was that the Great Spirit had sent the waters to help the pale faces, and they fled in the greatest alarm.

General Clinton did not meet one armed enemy, and after the junction of his brigade with the rest of Sullivan's division, the combined army numbered about 4,000 men, and

It was soon to be tested  
Whether the proud Indian league,  
Would at its savage pleasure  
Loose or bind, the lightnings of  
Its burnished tomahawk.

## CHAPTER II

### ROSTER OF OFFICERS OF SULLIVAN'S DIVISION, 1779

#### *General Commanding, and Staff*

Major-General John Sullivan, Commander-in-Chief

William Pierce, Captain Jonathan Dayton, Major Adam Hoop, Nicholas Van Cortlandt,	}	Aides.
Col. C. Sheriff, Dep. Adj. General.		
Lieut. Col. Francis Barber, Adjutant General.		
Col. Robert Hooper, Dep. Con. of Transportation.		
Col. Bryan Bruen, Private Secty. to Gen. Sullivan.		
Col. John Steele, Commissary General.		
Rev. Samuel Kirkland, Chaplain.		
Capt. Daniel Taphan, Con. of Militia Stores.		
Lieut. Benjamin Lodge, Surveyor.		
John Woodman, Asst. Commissary General.		
Col. Henry Antie, Conductor of Boats.		
James Cook, Express rider.		
Dr. Hagan, Surgeon-in-Chief.		
Mr. Brenion, Issuing Con. to Commander-in-chief.		
Capt. John Franklin, Jehaikim, (Indian)	}	Guides.
Lieut. John Jenkins,		
Lieut. Robert Pemberton, Judge Advocate.		

#### FIRST BRIGADE

##### *New Jersey Troops*

William Maxwell, Brigadier General.  
Andrew Hunter, Chaplain.

Aaron Ogden, Aide-de-Camp, and Captain.  
 John Ross, Brigadier Major.  
 Nathan Wilkinson, Quartermaster.  
 Matthias Ogden, Colonel 1st N. J. Regiment.  
 Israel Sherene, Colonel 2d N. J. Regiment.  
 Oliver Spencer, Spencer's Regiment.  
 Detachment of Cavalry, from E. Sheldon's Regiment.  
 Elias Dayton, Colonel 3d N. J. Regiment.

*First New Jersey Regiment*

Matthias Ogden, Colonel, David Brearley, Lieut. Colonel, Daniel Piatt, Major, Jacob Piatt, Capt. Lieut. and Adjutant, Ephriam Whitlock, Adjutant, Peter Trott, 2d Lieut. and Quartermaster, Cyrus Ewing, Surgeon, Cyrus D'Hart, 1st Lieut. and Paymaster, Stephen Ball, Surgeon's Mate, Jonathan Farnan, Captain. Giles Mead, Captain. Alexander Mitchell, Captain. Peter Van Voorhies, Captain and Paymaster. John Holmes, Captain. Aaron Ogden, Captain. William Piatt, Lieutenant. John Hamell, Lieutenant. William Barton, Lieutenant. Absalom Martin, Lieutenant. Ephriam Whitlock, Lieutenant. Eben Burrows, Lieutenant. Johnathan Snowden, Lieutenant. Absalom Bonham, 2d Lieutenant.	}	Staff.
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Samuel Seeley, Lieutenant.

Silas Parrat, Lieutenant.

John Bishop, Ensign.

Aaron Rhea, Ensign.

John Geary, Ensign.

Asher Levy, Ensign.

*Second New Jersey Regiment*

Israel Shreve, Colonel,

William D'Hart, Lieutenant Colonel,

John Ross, Major,

Luther Halsey, Adjutant and First Lieutenant

Derrick Lane, Quartermaster and 2d Lieut.

John Peck, Paymaster and Lieutenant,

Ebenezer Elmer, Surgeon,

Moses G. Elmer, Surgeon's Mate,

John N. Cummings, Captain.

Samuel Reading, Captain.

Johnathan Phillips, Captain.

Samuel Henry, Captain.

Nathaniel Bowman, Captain.

William Helms, Captain.

Abraham Appleton, 1st Lieutenant.

Samuel Conn, 1st Lieutenant.

Samuel Naglee, 1st Lieutenant.

Abel Weyman, 1st Lieutenant.

Demick Lane, 1st Lieutenant.

Samuel M. Sheete, 2d Lieutenant.

Jona Rhea, 2d Lieutenant.

John Shreve (son of Col. J. Shreve), 2d Lieutenant.

Benajah Osmun, 2d Lieutenant.

Joseph Buck, Ensign.

George Walker, Ensign.

Staff.

*Third New Jersey Regiment*

Elias Dayton, Colonel.  
John Conway, Lieut. Colonel.  
John Hollinshead, Major.  
Joseph I. Anderson, Paymaster and Captain.  
Samuel Shippard, Adj. and First Lieutenant.  
Ephraim Darboy, Quartermaster and 1st Lieutenant.  
Lewis F. Dunham, Surgeon.  
Robert Henry, Surgeon.  
Ephraim Tarring, Surgeon's Mate.  
Wm. Giffard, Captain.  
Richard Cox, Captain.  
Jeremiah Ballard, Captain.  
Joseph I. Anderson, Captain.  
Seth Johnson, Captain.  
Nathaniel Teanard, 1st Lieutenant.  
John Reed, 1st Lieutenant.  
Nathan Wilkinson, 1st Lieutenant.  
Edward D. Thomas, 1st Lieutenant.  
John Rencastle, 1st Lieutenant.  
Benjamin Horn, 1st Lieutenant.  
John Blair, 1st Lieutenant.  
William Kersey, 2d Lieutenant.  
Jarvis Bloomfield, 2d Lieutenant.  
Wessel F Stout, 2d Lieutenant.  
Jas. Rodgers, Ensign.  
Jas. DeCamp, Ensign.

*Spencer's New Jersey Regiment*

Oliver Spencer, Colonel.  
William S. Smith, Lieutenant Colonel.  
Peter Taulman, Adjutant and Lieutenant.  
John Sanford, Paymaster.

William Beach, Quartermaster.  
Jabez Campfield, Surgeon.  
John Darcy, Surgeon's Mate.  
John McEmen, Ensign and Quartermaster.  
John Burrows, Captain.  
*Michael Erickson*, Sargent in Capt. Burrowes Co.  
James Broaderick, Captain.  
Benjamin Weatherby, Captain.  
John Sanford, Captain.  
Nathaniel Town, Captain.  
Abraham Neely, Captain.  
James Bonnel, Captain.  
John Combs, Captain.  
William Beach, Captain Lieutenant.  
William Bull, Lieutenant.  
Ugal Meeker, Lieutenant.  
Finch Gildersleeve, Lieutenant.  
David Kirkpatrick, Lieutenant.  
Anthony Maxwell, Lieutenant.  
John Stagg, Lieutenant.  
John Orr, Lieutenant.  
Robert Pemberton, Lieutenant.  
Peter Farnham, Lieutenant.  
John Reed, Ensign.

## SECOND BRIGADE

### *New Hampshire Troops*

Enoch Poor, Brigadier General.  
Jeremiah Fogg, Aide-de-Camp.  
Elihu Marshall, Brigade Major.  
Rev. Israel Evans, Brigade Chaplain.  
Col. Joseph Silley, 1st New Hampshire Regiment.  
Lieut. Col. George Reed, 2d New Hampshire Regiment.

- Lieut. Col. Henry Dearborn, 3d New Hampshire Reg.  
Major Daniel Whiting, 6th Massachusetts Regiment.  
\*Col. Phillip Van Cortlandt, 2d New York Regiment.

*First New Hampshire Regiment*

Joseph Silley, Colonel.  
Jeremiah Gilman, Lieutenant Colonel.  
William Scott, Major.  
Jeremiah Pritchard, Lieutenant and Adjutant.  
Benjamin Kimball, Captain and Paymaster.  
Johnathan Willard, Lieutenant and Quartermaster.  
Thomas Blake, 2d Lieutenant and Paymaster.  
Joseph Mills, Lieutenant and Adjutant.  
John Hale, Surgeon.  
Amos Morrill, Captain.  
Jason Wait, Captain.  
Amos Emerson, Captain.  
Ebenezer Frye, Captain.  
Isaac Farwell, Captain.  
Nathaniel Hutchings, Captain.  
Simon Sartwell, Captain and Lieutenant.  
Moody Dustin, 1st Lieutenant.  
Nathaniel McCauley, 1st Lieutenant.  
Josiah Monroe, 1st Lieutenant.  
Daniel Clapp, Lieutenant.  
William Hutchins, Lieutenant.  
Asa Senter, Lieutenant.  
Bazabeel Howe, 2d Lieutenant.  
Simeon Morrill, 2d Lieutenant.

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\*Transferred to 4th Brigade Aug., 1779.

NOTE—It was this brigade that bore the brunt of the decisive battle of Newtown, fought on Sunday, August 29th, 1779. All of the killed, and most of the wounded, were New Hampshire men.

Johnathan Perkins, Ensign.  
Joshua Thompson, 2d Lieutenant.  
Hubbard Carter, Ensign.  
Samuel Thompson, Ensign.

*Second New Hampshire Regiment*

George Reed, Lieutenant Colonel.  
Benjamin Titcomb, Major.  
Richard Braum, Quartermaster.  
William M. Bell, Adjutant.  
Jeremiah Fogg, Paymaster and Captain.  
Robert Q. Henry, Surgeon.  
Rev. Ira Evans, Chaplain.  
Caleb Robinson, Captain.  
Janez Carr, Captain.  
Elijah Claves, Captain.  
William Rowell, Captain.  
Moses Dustin, Captain.  
Enoch Chase, Captain.  
George Aldrich, Captain.  
Samuel Cherry, Captain Lieutenant.  
Michael Hait, 1st Lieutenant.  
Ebenezer Light, 1st Lieutenant.  
Noah Robinson, 1st Lieutenant.  
Joseph Potter, 1st Lieutenant.  
Pelatiah Whittemar, 1st Lieutenant.  
James Nichols, 1st Lieutenant.  
George P. Frost, 1st Lieutenant.  
Luke Woodbury, 2d Lieutenant.  
Samuel Adams, 2d Lieutenant.  
William Taggert, 2d Lieutenant.  
Thomas Tyford, 2d Lieutenant.  
James Butterfield, 2d Lieutenant.

Joshua Merrom, Ensign.  
Daniel Gookim, Ensign.  
Caleb Blodgett, Ensign.  
Geo. Burnham, Ensign.  
Wm. Twombly, Ensign.  
Thomas Callis, Ensign.

*Third New Hampshire Regiment.*

Henry Dearborn, Lieutenant Colonel.  
James Norris, Major.  
Nicholas Gilman, Captain and Adjutant.  
Joseph Boynton, Lieutenant and Adjutant.  
Joseph Blanchard, 2d Lieutenant and Paymaster.  
John Hovey, Ensign and Quartermaster.  
Jacob Hall, Surgeon.  
Mark Howe, Surgeon.  
Israel Evans, Brigade Chaplain.  
Daniel Livermore, Captain.  
Isaac Frye, Captain.  
Wm. Ellis, Captain.  
David McGregor, Captain.  
Wm. A. Hawkins, Captain.  
Thomas Simpson, Captain.  
John Dennitt, Lieutenant.  
Benjamin Ellis, Lieutenant.  
Abner, Peminan, Lieutenant.  
Johnathan Cass, Lieutenant.  
Dudley T. Chase, Lieutenant.  
Nathaniel Hoit, Lieutenant.  
Nathaniel Teanitt, Lieutenant.  
Johna Cilley, Ensign.  
Archibald Stark, Ensign.  
Nathan Weare, Ensign.

Neal McGaffey, Ensign.

Moses Page, Ensign.

Bradbury Richards, Ensign.

*Sixth Massachusetts Regiment*

(Alden's)

Daniel Whiting, Major.

William White, Lieutenant and Adjutant.

James Lunt, Lieutenant and Adjutant.

William McKundry, Lieutenant and Quartermaster.

Ezekiel Braun, Surgeon.

Francis DeBar, Surgeon's Mate.

Joseph Tucker, Ensign and Paymaster.

Asa Coburn, Captain.

Luke Day, Captain.

Benjamin Warren, Captain.

John Reed, Captain.

Daniel Lane, Captain.

Jonas Parker, Captain Lieutenant.

James Lunt, Captain Lieutenant.

Samuel Buffington, Lieutenant.

Robert Givens, Lieutenant.

Elijah Day, Lieutenant.

William Curtis, Lieutenant.

Eliphalet Thorp, Lieutenant.

Stephen Carter, Lieutenant.

Ebenezer Peabody, Lieutenant.

Luther Trobridge, Lieutenant.

Richard Baynall, Ensign.

Levi Parker, Ensign.

## THIRD BRIGADE

*Pennsylvania Troops*

Edward Hand, Brigadier General.  
Jonathan Snowden, Aide-de-Camp and Lieutenant.  
Capt. Wm. Sprout, Aide-de-Camp and Brigade Major.  
Rev. Wm. Rogers, D.D., Chaplain.  
John Van Anglin, Commissary.  
William Kinnerly, Surgeon.  
Lieut. Col. Wm. Butler, 4th Pennsylvania Regiment.  
Lieut. Col. Adam Hibley, 11th Pennsylvania Regiment.  
Major Dan'l Burghardt, Pennsylvania Grenadiers.  
Col. Thomas Proctor, Artillery Regiment.  
Major James Parr, Morgan's Riflemen.  
Capt. Anthony Selin, Schott's Rifle Corps.  
Capt. John Franklin, Wyoming Militia.  
Capt. Simon Spalding, Independent Wyoming Company.

*Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment*

Wm. Butler, Lieutenant Colonel.  
Thomas Church, Major.  
George Bass, Lieutenant and Adjutant.  
Erkuries Beatty, Lieutenant and Paymaster.  
Peter Sumers, Lieutenant and Quartermaster.  
Charles McCarter, Surgeon.  
George Tudor, Captain.  
William Gray, Captain.  
Henry Booker, Jr., Captain.  
Wm. Henderson, Captain.  
Wm. Cross, Captain.  
Garret Stediford, Lieutenant.



Wilder Bevins, Lieutenant.  
Matthew Polon, Lieutenant.  
John Pratt, Lieutenant.  
Henry Henley, Lieutenant.  
Andrew Henderson, Ensign.  
Nathaniel Smith, Ensign.

*Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment*

Adam Hubley, Lieutenant Colonel.  
Evan Edwards, Major.  
George Bush, Captain and Paymaster.  
William Husten, Lieutenant and Adjutant.  
John Mahan, Lieutenant and Quartermaster.  
Thomas Wiggins, Surgeon.  
Lawrence Keene, Captain.  
Andrew Walker, Captain.  
Abraham G. Claypole, Captain.  
Isaac Sweeney, Captain.  
Henry Carbury, Captain.  
Jeremiah Jackson, Captain Lieutenant.  
Edward Burke, 1st Lieutenant.  
Septimus Davis, 1st Lieutenant.  
Wm. McCurdy, 1st Lieutenant.  
Wm. Lennon, 1st Lieutenant.  
Jonas Pettigrew, 1st Lieutenant.  
Benjamin Street, 1st Lieutenant.  
Samuel Morrison, 1st Lieutenant.  
Jacob Weitzel, 2d Lieutenant.  
Robert Allison, Ensign.  
Samuel Reed, Ensign.  
Henry Burley, Ensign.  
Francis Thornbury, Ensign.  
William Huston, Ensign.

*German Battalion*

Daniel Burchardt, Major.

Peter Boyer, Captain and Paymaster.

Jacob Royboldt, Ensign and Quartermaster.

John Weidman, Lieutenant and Adjutant.

Peter Peres, Surgeon.

Jacob Bummer, Captain.

Frederick Wm. Rice, Captain.

Bernard Hubley, Captain.

Philip Schramcher, Captain Lieutenant.

Jacob Crenes, Lieutenant.

Christian G. Swartz, Lieutenant.

David Dieffenderfer, Ensign.

Christian Cleekner, Ensign.

*Artillery Regiment*

## Nine Pieces

†Thomas Proctor, Colonel.

Thomas Forrest, Lieutenant Colonel.

William Adams, Surgeon.

Isaac Craig, Captain.

Joseph Rice, Captain.

Francis Proctor, Captain.

John Brice, Captain.

Robert Caltman, Captain.

Patrick Duffy, Captain Lieutenant.

Warsley Eves, Captain Lieutenant.

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NOTE—There were 131 fifers and drummers in Sullivan's army, including what was known as "Colonel Proctor's Band of Music."

*Morgan's Riflemen*

## One Battalion

James Parr, Major.

Michael Simpson, Captain.

Thomas Boyd, Lieutenant. Massacred Sept. 13, 1779.

Benjamin Chambers, Ensign.

*Independent Rifle Company*

Anthony Selin, Captain.

Lawrence Myers, Lieutenant.

Christian Fraelich, Lieutenant.

*Wyoming Militia*

John Franklin, Captain.

*Independent Wyoming Company*

Simon Spalding, Captain.

John Jenkins, Lieutenant.

## FOURTH BRIGADE

*New York Troops*

James Clinton, Brigadier General.

Rev. John Gano, Chaplain.

John Pratt, Assistant Commissary of Issues.

William Popham, Aide-de-Camp.

Capt. Leonard Bleecker, } Brigade Majors and Inspec-  
Major Nicholas Fish, } tors.

Dr. Stephen McCrea, Brigade Surgeon.

Col. Philip Van Cortlandt, 2d New York Regiment.

Col. Peter Gansevoort, 3d New York Regiment.

Lieut. Col. Frederick Weissenfele, 4th N. Y. Regiment.

Col. Lemie Dufois, 5th New York Regiment.

Volunteer Corps, under Col. John Harper as Captain.

*Second New York Regiment*

Philip Van Cortlandt, Colonel.  
Peine Regnier, Lieutenant Colonel.  
Nicholas Fish, Major.  
Charles Nukerk, Adjutant and Captain Lieutenant.  
William Mundy, Quartermaster and 1st Lieutenant.  
Tunis Van Wagener, Quartermaster and 2d Lieutenant.  
Robert Provoost, Paymaster and Ensign.  
Daniel Minena, Surgeon.  
Charles Graham, Captain.  
Samuel F. Pell, Captain.  
Jacob Wright, Captain.  
Jonathan Hallet, Captain.  
Abner French, Captain.  
James Fairlie, Lieutenant.  
Elihu Marshall, Lieutenant.  
Gilbert I. Livingston, Lieutenant.  
Charles F. Wussenfole, Lieutenant.  
†John L. Hardenbergh, Lieutenant.  
Tjerek Beekman, Lieutenant.  
Andrew White, Lieutenant.  
William L. Lenny, Lieutenant.  
Bernardus Swarthout, Ensign.  
John Braunn, Ensign.

*Third New York Regiment*

Peter Gansevoort, Colonel.  
Marinus Willett, Lieutenant Colonel.  
Robert Cochran, Major.

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NOTE—In the year 1790, Lieut. John L. Hardenbergh founded the settlement of Hardenbergh's Corners, which afterwards became the village (now city) of Auburn, Cayuga County, N. Y.

Christopher Hutton, Adjutant and Lieutenant.  
Prentive Boman, Quartermaster and Lieutenant.  
Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Paymaster and Ensign.  
Hemlock Woodruff, Surgeon.  
John Elliott, Surgeon's Mate.  
Leonard Bleecker, Captain.  
Henry Tiebout, Captain.  
Thomas DeWitt, Captain.  
Cornelius F. Jason, Captain.  
Aaron Aarson, Captain.  
George Syteg, Captain Lieutenant.  
Wm. Colbrath, Lieutenant.  
William Tapp, Lieutenant.  
Philip Conine, Lieutenant.  
Gerrit Staats, Lieutenant.  
Thomas McClellan, Lieutenant.  
Benjamin Bogardus, Captain.  
Levi Stockwell, Captain.  
Josiah Bayley, Ensign.  
George T. Denniston, Ensign.  
Samuel Lewis, Ensign.  
Peter Magee, Ensign.  
John Spoor, Ensign.  
D. T. Fonday, Ensign.  
Benjamin Herring, Ensign.  
Gerrit G. Lansing, Ensign.

*Fourth New York Regiment*

Frederick Weissenfels, Lieutenant Colonel.  
Jos. McCracken, Major.  
Israel Smith, Paymaster and Captain.  
Peter Elsworth, Adjutant and Lieutenant.  
James Barritt, Quartermaster and Lieutenant.

John F. Vasche, Surgeon.  
Saml. Sackett, Captain.  
John Davis, Captain.  
Jonathan Titus, Captain.  
Benjamin Walker, Captain.  
Nathaniel Warton, Captain.  
Theodosius Famler, Captain.  
Edward Duscomb, Captain Lieutenant.  
Joseph Frelick, Lieutenant.  
Peter Van Bunschaten, Lieutenant.  
Abraham Hyatt, Lieutenant.  
Rudolphus Van Houburg, Lieutenant.  
Thomas Hunt, Lieutenant.  
Silol Gray, Lieutenant.  
Daniel Deniston, Ensign.  
Azariah Tuthill, Ensign.  
Samuel Talmadge, Ensign.  
Ephraim Woodruff, Ensign.

*Fifth New York Regiment*

Lewis Dubois, Colonel.  
Henry Dubois, Adjutant and Captain Lieutenant.  
Henry Dodge, Adjutant and Lieutenant.  
Michael Connally, Paymaster and 2d Lieutenant.  
James Johnston, Quartermaster and Ensign.  
Samuel Coope, Surgeon.  
Eben Hutchison, Surgeon's Mate.  
James Rosekrans, Captain.  
John F. Hamtrach, Captain.  
John Johnson, Captain.  
Philip Dubois Bemis, Captain.  
James Stewart, Captain.

Henry W. Vanderburgh, Lieutenant.

Daniel Birdsall, 2d Lieutenant.

James Betts, 2d Lieutenant.

Barthol Vanderburgh, Ensign.

Francis Hanner, Ensign.

*New York Artillery Detachment*

(Col. John Lamb's Regiment)

Isiah Wool, Captain.

Thomas Machin, Captain.

Elisha Harvey, Lieutenant.

End of Roster

For a faithful and interesting account of the great march of "John Sullivan and his Men" into that primeval wilderness,

"Where Onondaga and Mohawk brave,  
Oneida, Cayuga and Seneca founded  
That union of Tribes that terror gave,  
Where the Tuscarora war whoop sounded,"

let us turn to the Journal of Lieut. Colonel Adam Hubley.

Colonel Hubley, as we have seen, by our perusal of the Roster, was the Commander of the 11th Pennsylvania Regiment, and he tells the story of the great march in a quaint and interesting style.

## CHAPTER III

### IN WHICH COLONEL HUBLEY TELLS THE STORY

#### SULLIVAN'S GENERAL ORDERS

#### "HEADQUARTERS, EASTON.

May 24, A.D., 1779.

**W**HEN the army shall be fully assembled the following arrangements are to take place:

Light corps, commanded by Gen. Hand, to consist of: Armandt's, Hubley's, Shott's, 6 Companies of Rangers, Wm. Butler's battalion, Morgan's corps, and all Volunteers who may join the army.

Maxwell's Brigade consists of: Dayton, Shreeve, Ogden, Spencer, forming right of the first line.

Poor's Brigade consists of: Cilley, Reed, Scammel, Courtland, and form left of first line. Livingston, Dubois, Gainsworth, Olden, and form second line of reserve.

The right of the first line to be covered by 100 men draughted from Maxwell's brigade, the left to be covered by 100 men detached from Poor's Brigade, each flank of the second line to be covered by 50 men detached from Clinton's brigade, the flanking division on the right to consist of Hubley's regiment, and a draught from the line of 100 men, the flanking division on left to consist of the German battalion, and 100 draughted men from the line.

#### ORDER OF MARCH

The light corps will advance by the right of companies in files, and keep at least one mile in front. Maxwell's



brigade will advance by its right in files, sections, or platoons, as the country will admit. Poor's brigade will advance by its left in the same manner. Clinton's brigade will advance by the right of regiment in platoons,, files, or sections, as the country will admit. All the covering parties and flanking divisions on the right will advance by their left; those on the left of the army will advance by their right. The artillery and pack horses are to march in the centre.

Should the army be attacked in front while on its march, the light corps will immediately form to repulse the enemy, the flanking division will endeavor to gain the flanks and rear of the enemy. While the line is forming the pack horses will, in all cases, fall into the position represented on the annexed plan. Should the enemy attack on either flank, the flanking division attacked will form a front, and sustain the attack till reinforced—in which case a part of the light corps is to be immediately detached to gain the enemy's flank and rear, the covering parties of the 2d line to move to gain the other flank. Should the enemy attack our rear, the 2d line will face and form a front to the enemy, the covering parties of the first line will move to sustain it, while the flanking division face about and endeavor to gain their flank and rear. Should the light troops be driven back, they will pass through the intervals of the main army, and form in the rear. Should the enemy in an engagement with the army, when formed, endeavor either flank, the covering party will move up to lengthen the line, and so much as may be found necessary from the flanking division will display outwards to prevent the attempt from succeeding. The light corps will have their advance and flank guards at a good distance from their main body. The flanking

division will furnish flank guards, and the 2d line a rear guard for the main army.

When we find that the light corps are engaged in front, the front of the pack horses halt, and the rear close up, while the columns move in a proper distance, close and display, which will bring the horses in the position they are on the plan for the order of battle. Should the attack be made on either, in flank or in rear, the horses must be kept in the position they are at the commencement of the attack, unless other orders are then given.

JOHN SULLIVAN."

This is Colonel Hubley's Journal, just as he wrote it from day to day.

WYOMING, JULY 30th, 1779.—Wyoming is situated in the east side of the east branch of the Susquehanna, the town consisting of about seventy houses, chiefly log buildings; besides these buildings there are sundry larger ones which were erected by the army for the purpose of receiving stores, etc., a large bake and smoke house.

There is likewise a small fort erected in the town, with a strong abatta around it, and a small redoubt to shelter the inhabitants in cases of an alarm. This fort is garrisoned by 100 men, draughted from the western army, and put under the command of Col. Zeb's Butler. I cannot omit taking notice of the poor inhabitants of the town: two-thirds of them are widows and orphans, who, by the vile hands of the savages, have not only deprived some of tender husbands, some of indulgent parents, and others of affectionate friends and acquaintances, besides robbed and plundered of all their furniture and clothing. In short, they are left totally dependent on the public, and are become absolute objects of charity.

The situation of this place is elegant and delightful. It composes an extensive valley, bounded both on the east and west side of the river by large chains of mountains. The valley, a mere garden, of an excellent rich soil abounding with large timber of all kinds, and through the center the east branch of the Susquehanna.

WYOMING, JULY 31st, 1779.—Agreeable to orders, marched the western army under the command of Major General Sullivan, from this place to Tioga.

Took up the line of march about one o'clock P. M., viz., light corps advanced in front of main body about a mile; vanguard, consisting of twenty-four men, under command of a sub-altern, and Poor's brigade (main body), followed by packhorses and cattle, after which one complete regiment, taken alternately from Maxwell's and Poor's brigade (composed the rear guard).

Observed the country to be much broken and mountainous; wood chiefly low, and composed of pine only. I was struck on this day's march with the ruins of many houses, chiefly built of logs, and uninhabited; though poor, yet happy in their situation, until that horrid engagement, when the British tyrant let loose upon them his emissaries, the savages of the wood, who not only destroyed and laid waste those cottages, but in cool blood massacred and cut off the inhabitants, not even sparing gray locks or helpless infancy.

About 4 o'clock, P. M., arrived at a most beautiful plain, covered with an abundance of grass, soil excessively rich, through which runs a delightful stream of water, known by the name of Lackawanna; crossed the same, and encamped about one mile on the northern side of it, advanced about one-half mile in front of main body;

after night fell in with rain—continued until morning. Distance of march this day, 10 miles.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1st.—Continued at Lackawanna waiting for the fleet, which, by reason of considerable rapids, was detained until nearly 12 o'clock this day before the van could possibly cross there. In getting through, lost two boats, chief of their cargoes were saved. About 2 o'clock P. M., the whole arrived opposite our encampment, in consequence of which received orders for a march, struck tents accordingly, and moved about 2 o'clock P. M. About one mile from the encampment, entered the narrows on the river, first detachment and left column under command of Capt. Burk, to join the right column of light corps, and across the mountain, which was almost inaccessible, in order to cover the army from falling in an ambuscade. Whilst passing through the defile found passage though exceeding difficult and troublesome, owing to the badness of the path; we passed by a most beautiful cataract called the Spring Falls. To attempt a description of it would be almost presumption. Let this short account thereof suffice. The first or upper fall thereof is nearly ninety feet perpendicular, pouring from a solid rock, uttering forth a most beautiful echo, and is received by a cleft of rocks considerably more projected than the former, from whence it rolls gradually and empties into the Susquehanna. Light corps passed and got through the defile about 6 o'clock P. M.; arrived about dusk at a place called Quilutimunk, and encamped one mile in front of the place, occupied that night by the main army.

The main army, on account of the difficult passage, marched nearly all night before they reached their encamp-

ing ground. Great quantities of baggage being dropped and left lying that night obliged us to continue on this ground. All the preceding day numbers of our pack horses were sent back and employed in bringing on the scattered stores, etc.; distance of march this day about 7 miles; fine clear evening. Quilutimunk is a spot of ground situate on the river; fine, open and clear; quantity, about 1200 acres; soil very rich, timber fine, grass in abundance, and contains several exceedingly fine springs.

MONDAY, AUGUST 2d.—In consequence of the difficult and tedious march the preceding day, the army received orders to continue on the ground this day, in the meantime to provide themselves with five days provision, and getting every other matter in perfect readiness for a march next morning at 6 o'clock. Nothing material happened during our stay on this ground.

TUESDAY 3d.—Agreeable to orders took up the line of march at 6 o'clock, A. M. Took the mountains after we assembled—found them exceedingly level for at least six miles. Land tolerable, the timber, viz., pine and white oak, chiefly large. About three miles from Quilutimunk we crossed near another cataract, which descended the mountain in three successive falls, the least of which is equal if not superior to the one already described. Although it is not quite so high, it is much wider, and likewise empties into the Susquehanna, seemingly white as milk. They are commonly known by the name of Butter-milk Falls.

About 12 o'clock we descended the mountains near the river; marched about one mile on flat piece of ground, and arrived at Tunkhannunk, a beautiful stream of water

so called, which empties into the Susquehanna; crossed the same, and encamped on the river about 1 o'clock, p. m. Nothing material happened this day excepting a discovery of two Indians by the party on the west side of the river, Indians finding themselves rather near the party were obliged to leave their canoe, and make through the mountains. Party took possession of the canoe, and brought it to their encamping place, for that evening immediately opposite the main army. Distance of march this day, 12 miles.

WEDNESDAY 4th.—The army was in motion 5 o'clock, a. m., and moved up the river for three miles, chiefly on the beach, close under an almost inaccessible mountain. We then ascended the same with the greatest difficulty, and continued on it for nearly seven miles. A considerable distance from the river the path along the mountain was exceedingly rough, and carried through several very considerable swamps, in which were large morasses. The land in general thin and broken, abounds in wild deer and other game. We then descended the mountains, and, at the foot of it crossed a small creek called Massasppi, immediately where it empties into the river. We then continued up the same until we made Vanderlip's farm, discovered several old Indian encampments; one of them appeared to have been very large.

The land, after crossing Massasppi, was exceedingly fine and rich, the soil very black and well timbered, chiefly with black walnut, which are remarkably large, some not less than six feet over, and excessively high. It is likewise well calculated for making fine and extensive meadows. The main army took post for this night on Vanderlip's farm, and the infantry advanced about one

mile higher up, and encamped about 1 o'clock P. M., on a place known by the name of Williamson's farm. Distance marched this day, 14 miles; fine clear day, very hot.

THURSDAY 5th.—In consequence of orders issued last evening to march this morning at 5 o'clock, we struck tents and loaded baggage. But the boats being considerably impeded by the rapidness of the water some miles below our encampment, could not reach us, and we were obliged to halt all night. Did not join us until 9 o'clock, A. M., all which time we were obliged to halt. On their arrival the whole army was put in motion, and as more danger on this day's march was apprehended than any before, the following distribution of the army took place, viz.: the right and left columns of the light corps, conducted by Gen. Hand, moved along the top of a very high mountain; main body of light corps, under Col. Hubley's command, with an advance of twenty-four men, moved on the beach several miles on the edge of the water. The main army, followed by the baggage, etc., flanked on their right by four hundred men, who had likewise to take this mountain. Thus we moved for several miles, then arrived in a small valley called Depue's farm; the land very good. Observed and reconnoitered this ground for some distance, it being the place in which Col. Hartley was attacked by the savages last year, on his return from Tioga to Wyoming. The country being fine and open, some loss was sustained on both sides; the savages at last gave way, and Col. Hartley pursued his route to Wyoming without further molestation. Continued our march for about one mile, and formed a junction with the parties on the right flank, ascended a



### STANDING STONE ROCK

In the Susquehanna River, near Standing Stone, Pa. It is about six feet wide, twenty-five feet high, and is mentioned in Col. Hubley's Journal.





high mountain, and marched for some miles on the same. Land poor, timber but small, chiefly pine, after which descended the mountain nearly one mile in length, and arrived in a fine large valley, known by the name of Wyalusing. The main army took post at this place, and the infantry advanced about one mile in front of them, and encamped about 2 o'clock, P. M. Clear but very warm day; distance of march this day,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  miles.

This valley was formerly called Oldman's farm, occupied by the Indians and white people; together, they had about sixty houses, a considerable Moravian meeting house, and sundry other public buildings; but since the commencement of the present war the whole has been consumed and laid waste, partly by the savages and partly by our own people. The land is extraordinarily calculated chiefly for meadows. The grass at this time is almost beyond description, high and thick, and chiefly blue grass, and the soil of the land very rich. The valley contains about 1200 acres of land, bounded on one side by an almost inaccessible mountain, and on the other by the river Susquehanna.

FRIDAY, AUG. 6th.—The boats not arriving before late this day, the army received orders to continue on the ground. In the meantime to be provided with three days provisions, get their arms and accoutrements in perfect order, and be in readiness for a march early tomorrow morning. A sub. and twenty-four men from my regiment reconnoitered vicinity of camp; returned in the evening; made no discoveries. Rain all night.

SATURDAY 7th.—The heavy rain last night and this morning rendered it utterly impossible to march this day; continued on the ground for further orders.

A captain and thirty men from my regiment reconnoitered vicinity of camp; made no discoveries.

This day received a letter (by express) from His Excellency Gen. Washington, dated Head Quarters, at New Windsor.

SUNDAY 8th.—The army moved (in the same order as on 5th) this morning at 5 o'clock; crossed Wyalusing creek; and ascended an extensive mountain, the top remarkably level; land poor, and timber small. Arrived about 10 o'clock, A. M., at the north end, and descended the same close on the river side, and continued along the beach for some distance, after which we entered an extensive valley or plain, known by the name of Standing Stone; made a halt here for about half an hour for refreshments. This place derives its name from a large stone standing erect in the river immediately opposite this plain. It is near twenty feet in height, fourteen feet in width, and three feet in depth. This valley abounds in grass, the land exceedingly fine, and produces chiefly white oak, black walnut, and pine timber. After refreshment, continued our march along the same valley; land not quite so fine. Arrived about 3 o'clock, P. M., at a small creek called Wesauking; crossed the same, and encamped about one mile beyond it, and immediately on the river.

Four o'clock, P. M. Since our arrival at this place some of my officers discovered a small Indian encampment, seemingly occupied but a few days since; found near the same a neat canoe, which they brought off. This morning the scout (of three men) sent up to Sheshequin some days since, returned without making any discoveries.

General Sullivan, on account of his indisposition, came on in the boat.

MONDAY, AUGUST 9th.—The boats not being able to reach Wesauking, the ground on which light corps encamped preceding evening. The main body in consequence thereof took post and encamped at Standing Stone, about three miles below light corps encampment, for protection of the boats.

The light corps, on account of their detached situation from main body the preceding evening, and apprehending some danger, being considerably advanced in the enemy's country, for their greater security, stood under arms from 3 o'clock, A. M., until daylight, when they dismissed, with orders to hold themselves in readiness at a moment's warning. Previous to their dismissal my light infantry was sent out to reconnoitre the vicinity of encampment; returned about 7 o'clock, A. M., made no discovery.

This morning, 9 o'clock, boats hove in sight, in consequence thereof received orders to strike tents, and be in readiness for march; main army in the meantime arrived about 10 o'clock; The whole was in motion, marched through a difficult swamp; at north of same crossed a small stream, and ascended a hill; lands poor, and wood but indifferent. About 12 o'clock, P. M., descended the same, and entered a small valley; continued about half a mile, when we ascended a very remarkable high mountain, generally known by the name of Break Neck Hill.

This mountain derives its name from the great height, of the difficult and narrow passage, not more than one foot wide, and a remarkable precipice which is immediately perpendicular, and not less than 180 feet deep. One miss-step must inevitably carry you from top to bottom

without the least hope of chance of recovery. At north end of same entered a mountainous and beautiful valley called Sheshecununk. General Sullivan, with a number of officers, made a halt here at a most beautiful run of water, took a bite of dinner, and proceeded on along the valley, which very particularly struck my attention. Any quantity of meadow may be made here; abounds with all kinds of wood, particularly white oak, hickory, and black walnut; the ground covered with grass and pea vines; the soil in general rich. About 4 o'clock, P. M., arrived on the bank of the river; the whole encamped in a line on the most beautiful plain; consists chiefly in meadows, the grass remarkable, thick and high. On our arrival here made discoveries of some new Indian tracks, places on which fire had just been, and fresh boughs cut, and prepared as if the place had just been occupied a few hours before our arrival. Distance of march this day,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles.

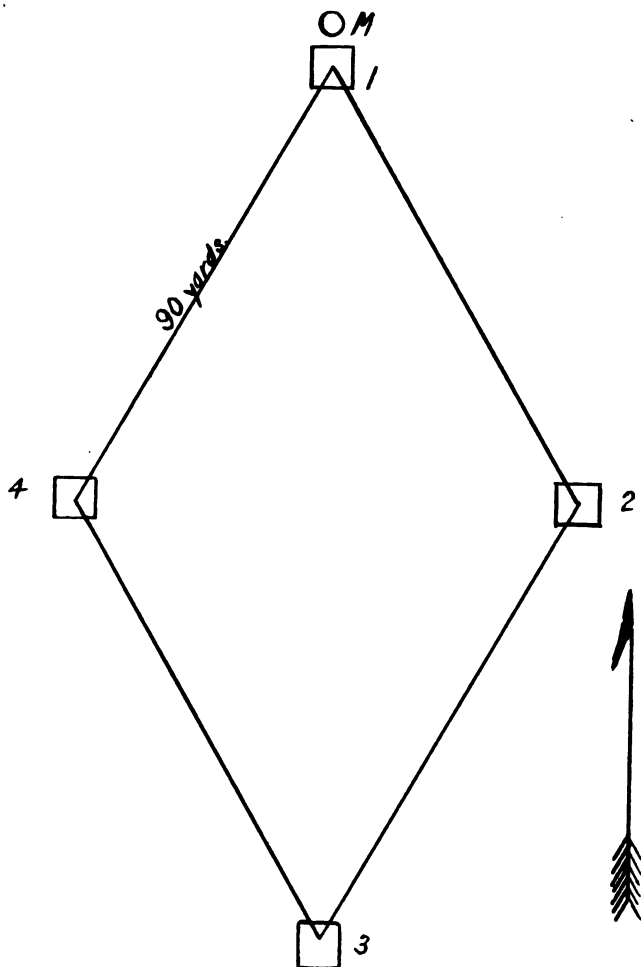
TUESDAY, AUGUST 10th. Set in with rain, and boats not reaching this place before 9 o'clock this morning, army received orders to continue on the ground until further orders. Men drew and cooked two days provisions.

One regiment from each of the brigades attended General Sullivan. The general and field officers of the army whilst they were reconnoitering the river and ground near Tioga branch, about three miles above this place, returned without any discoveries worthy of remark, about 4 o'clock, P. M.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11th.—Agreeable to orders the army moved this morning at 8 o'clock, A. M. in the usual order. Light corps moved half an hour before the main



\*\*\* The boulder that marks the north point of Fort Sullivan, at Tioga Point, (Athens, Pa.) placed by the Tioga Point Chapter, D. A. R., in 1902.



OUTLINE OF FORT SULLIVAN AT TIOGA POINT  
(Now Athens, Pa.)

1, 2, 3, and 4, Blockhouses  
M—Marker shown on reverse page.

Drawn by I. C. King, 1914, from details furnished by the author.

army, took post on the banks of the river near the fording place. On the arrival of the main army and boats, Col. Forest drew up his boat at the fording place, and fixed several six pounders on the opposite shore to scour the woods and thickets, and prevent any ambuscade from taking place. In the meantime the light corps marched by platoons, linked together, on account of the rapidity of the water, and forded the same, and effected a landing about 9 o'clock; they immediately advanced about one hundred yards from the river, and formed a line of battle, in order to cover the landing of the main army, which was safely effected about 10 o'clock, A. M., after which came on pack horses, cattle, etc., covered by a regiment which composed the rear guard. About half past ten o'clock the whole moved in following order.

Previous to our arrival on the flats we had to pass about one and a half mile through a dark, difficult swamp, which was covered with weeds and considerable underwood, interspersed with large timber, chiefly buttonwood. We then entered the flats near the place on which Queen Esther's palace stood, and was destroyed by Col. Hartley's detachment last fall. The grass is remarkable thick and high. We continued along the same for about one mile, and arrived at the entrance of Tioga branch into Susquehanna about 1 o'clock; we crossed the same, and landed on a peninsula of land which extends towards Chemung, and is bounded on the east by Susquehanna, and on the west by Tioga branch, and continued up the same for about two miles and a half and encamped. This peninsula is composed of excellent meadow and upland; grass is plenty, and timber of all kinds, and soil in general good; distance of march this day, three miles. Since our arrival a scout of eight men was ordered up to reconnoitre Che-



mung, and endeavor to make discoveries of the number of savages, and their situation, if possible.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 12th.—Tioga Plain. This being a plain calculated to cover the western army during the expedition to the northern part of it, a garrison for that purpose is to remain until our return. Sundry works for the security of the same are now erecting about two and a half miles distant from where Tioga branch empties into the Susquehanna, and where the two rivers are about 190 yards distant from each other; these works extend from river to river.

Capt. Cummings with his scout (sent out last evening) returned this day at 11 o'clock, A. M., made several discoveries at Chemung; an Indian village twelve miles distance from this place; in consequence of which a council of war sat, and determined an expedition should immediately take place for the reduction of the same. The army (two regiments excepted) received orders to be in readiness for an immediate march. Eight o'clock, P. M., the whole were in motion, and proceeded for Chemung.

AUGUST 13th, 1779.—Eight o'clock, P. M., the army having marched last evening in the following order, viz., Light corps, under command of Gen. Hand, led the van, then followed Gens. Poor and Maxwell's brigades, which formed main body, and corps de reserve, the whole under the immediate command of Maj. Gen. Sullivan. The night being excessively dark, and the want of proper guides, impeded our march, besides which we had several considerable defiles to march through, that we could not possibly reach Chemung till after daylight. The morning being foggy favoured our enterprise. Our pilot, on our arrival, from some disagreeable motions he felt,

could not find the town. We discovered a few huts, which we surrounded, but found them vacated; after about one hour's march we came upon the main town. The following disposition for surprising the same was ordered to take place, viz: Two regiments, one from the light corps, and one from main body, were ordered to cross the river and prevent the enemy from making their escape that way, should they still hold the town. The remainder of the light corps, viz., two independent companies, and my regiment, under command of Hand, were to make the attack on the town. Gen. Poor was immediately to move up and support the light corps. We moved in this order accordingly, but the savages having probably discovered our scouting party the preceding day, defeated our enterprise by evacuating the village previous to our coming, carrying off with them nearly all their furniture and stock, and leaving an empty village only, which fell an easy conquest about 5 o'clock A. M. The situation of this village was beautiful; it contained fifty or sixty houses, built of logs and frames, and situate on the banks of Tioga branch, and on a most fertile, beautiful, and extensive plain, the lands chiefly calculated for meadows, and the soil rich.

The army continued for some small space in the town. Gen. Hand, in the meantime, advanced my light infantry company, under Capt. Bush, about one mile beyond the village, on a path which leads to a small Indian habitation, called Newtown. On Capt. Bush's arrival, there he discovered fires burning, an Indian dog, which lay asleep, a number of deer skins, some blankets, etc.; he immediately gave information of his discoveries, in consequence of which the remainder part of the light corps, viz.: the two independent companies, and my regiment,

under Gen. Hand's command, were ordered to move some miles up the path, and endeavor, if possible, to make some discoveries. We accordingly proceeded on in the following order, viz: Captain Walker, with twenty-four men, composed the van, the eleventh regiment, under my command, after which the two independent companies, the whole covered on the left by Tioga branch, and on the right by Capt. Bush's infantry company of forty men. In this order we moved somewhat better than a mile beyond this place. The first fires were discovered when our van was fired upon by a party of savages, who lay concealed on a high hill immediately upon our right, and which Capt. Bush had not yet made. We immediately formed a front with my regiment, pushed up the hill with a degree of intrepidity seldom to be met with, and under a very severe fire from the savages. Capt. Bush, in the meantime, endeavored to gain the enemy's rear. They, seeing the determined resolution of our troops, retreated; and, according to custom, previous to our dislodging them, carried off their wounded and dead, by which means they deprived us from coming to the knowledge of their wounded and dead. The ground on the opposite side of the mountain or ridge, on which the action commenced, being composed of swamp or low ground, covered with underwood, etc., favored their retreat, and prevented our pursuing them, by which means they got off.

Our loss on this occasion, which totally (excepting two) fell on my regiment, was as follows, viz: two captains, one adjutant, one guide, and eight privates wounded, and one sergeant, one drummer, and four privates killed. Officers' names: Captain Walker (slight wound), Captain Carberry, and Adj. Huston (I fear mortal).



### THE OLD ATHENS ACADEMY

Which stands near the site of "Fort Sullivan" at Tioga Point, (Athens, Pa.).  
Built in 1798, nineteen years after the expedition.



After gaining the summit of the hill, and dislodging the enemy, we marched by the right of companies in eight columns, and continued along the same line until the arrival of General Sullivan. We then halted for some little time, and then returned to the village, which was instantly laid in ashes, and a party detached to cross the river to destroy the corn, beans, etc., of which there were several very extensive fields, and those articles in the greatest perfection. Whilst the troops were engaged in this business, Gens. Poor and Maxwell's brigades were fired upon, lost one man, killed, and several wounded. The whole business being completed, we returned to the ruins of the village, halted some time and received orders to return to Tioga plain, at which place we arrived at 8 o'clock, considerably fatigued. Lest the savages should discover our loss, after leaving the place, I had the dead bodies of my regiment carried along, fixed on horses, and brought to this place for interment. The expedition from the first to the last continued twenty-four hours, of which time my regiment was employed, without the least intermission, twenty-three hours; the whole of our march not less than forty miles.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 14th.—This morning 10 o'clock, A. M., had the bodies of those brave veterans, who so nobly distinguished themselves, and bravely fell in the action of yesterday, interred with military honors (firing excepted). Parson Rogers delivered a small discourse on the occasion.

Was employed a greater part of the day in writing to my friends at Lancaster and Philadelphia, which were forwarded the same evening.

SUNDAY 15th.—Agreeable to orders of yesterday, seven hundred men were ordered to march on the grand

parade for inspection, and to be furnished with ammunition and eight days provision, for the purpose of marching up the Susquehanna and meeting General Clinton, who is now on his march to form a junction with this army.

Two o'clock, P. M., a firing was heard on the west side of Tioga branch, immediately opposite our encampment. A number of Indians under cover of a high mountain, advanced on a large meadow or flat of ground, on which our cattle and horses were grazing. Unfortunately, two men were there to fetch some horses, one of which was killed and scalped, the other slightly wounded, but got clear. One bullock was likewise killed, and several public horses taken off. My regiment was ordered in pursuit of them; we accordingly crossed the branch and ascended the mountain, marched along the summit of the same for upwards of two miles in order to gain their rear; but the enemy having too much start got clear. After scouring the mountains and valleys near the same, we returned, much fatigued, about 5 o'clock, P. M.

MONDAY 16th.—The detachment under General Poor's command agreeable to orders, moved this day, 1 o'clock, P. M., up the Susquehanna for the purpose of forming a junction with Gen. Clinton.

Several of our continentals alarmed the camp by firing off several guns about 1 o'clock in the morning, in consequence of which light corps stood under arms. Several patrols were sent out to reconnoitre the front of encampment, returned near day-break, but made no discoveries—alarm proved premature. Gen. Hand, being ordered with the detachment under Gen. Poor, the command of light corps devolved on me during his absence.

TUESDAY, 17th.—Seven o'clock, P. M., a firing was heard about five hundred yards immediately in front of

light corps' encampment. A party of fifty men was immediately detached to endeavor to find out the cause of it; returned at 8 o'clock, P. M.; reported that a party of Indians, eleven in number, had waylaid a few pack horsemen, who were just returning with their horses from pasture; that they had killed and scalped one man, and wounded another; the wounded man got safe to camp, and the corpse of the other was likewise brought in.

An alarm was fired by a continental about 11 o'clock, P. M., but proved false.

WEDNESDAY, 18th.—In order to entrap some of those savages who keep sneaking about the encampment, the following parties ordered out for that purpose, and to be relieved daily by an equal number until we leave this ground, viz: one subaltern and twenty men on the mountain opposite the encampment; one subaltern and twenty men on the island, about a mile and a half above the encampment, on Tioga branch, and one subaltern and twenty men in the woods, about one and a half immediately in front of light corps' encampment, with orders to waylay and take every other means to take them.

This day, by particular request of several gentlemen, a discourse was delivered in the Masonic form, by Dr. Rogers, on the death of Captain Davis of the 11th Penn., and Lieutenant Jones of the Delaware regiments, who were, on the 23d of April last, most cruelly and inhumanly massacred and scalped by the savages, emissaries employed by the British king, as they were marching with a detachment for the relief of the garrison at Wyoming.

Those gentlemen were both members of that honourable and ancient Society of Freemen. A number of brethren attended on this occasion in proper form, and the whole was conducted with propriety and harmony.



Text preached on this solemn occasion was the first clause in the 7th verse of the 7th chapter of Job, "Remember my life is but wind."

THURSDAY, 19th.—Nothing remarkable this day.

FRIDAY, 20th.—This day arrived Lieut. Boyd, of Col. Butler's regiment, with accounts of Gen. Clinton's movements on the Susquehanna, and that a junction was formed by him with Gen. Poor's detachment, Chokoanut, about thirty-five miles from this place. Rain very heavy chief part of the day.

SATURDAY, 21st.—The detachments under Gens. Clinton and Poor, on account of the very heavy rain yesterday, did not reach this encampment as was expected.

SUNDAY, 22d.—This day, 10 o'clock, A. M., Gens. Clinton and Poor's detachments, with about two hundred and twenty boats, passed light corps' encampment for the main army, about one and a half miles in their rear. On their passing, they were saluted with thirteen rounds from the park; the light corps being likewise drawn up, and received them in proper form, with Col. Proctor's music, and drums and fifes beating and playing.

MONDAY, 23d.—This day a most shocking affair happened, by an accident of a gun, which went off, the ball of which entered a tent in which was Capt. Kimball, of Gen. Poor's brigade, and a lieutenant; the captain was unfortunately killed, and the lieutenant wounded.

Gen. Clinton, having formed a junction with the army at this place yesterday, the following alterations in the several brigades were ordered to take place, viz: Col. Courtland's regiment to be annexed to General Clinton's, Colonel Older to General Poor's, and Colonel Butler's

regiment, with Major Parr's corps, to General Hand's brigade.

**TUESDAY, 24th.**—This day employed hands to make bags for the purpose of carrying flour; hands employed all day and night in this business.

Agreeable to orders a signal gun was fired for the whole army to strike tents, 5 o'clock, P. M., and marched some distance in order to form the line of march. Seven o'clock, P. M., another signal was fired for the army to encamp in proper order, and to be in readiness for an immediate march. Col. Butler's regiment, with Major Parr's riflemen, joined light corps, and encamped with them this day, 7 o'clock, P. M.

Colonel Shrieve took command of Fort Sullivan this day agreeable to orders. Flying hospital and stores were moved this day to the garrison.

**WEDNESDAY, 25th.**—This morning was entirely devoted to packing up and getting everything in readiness for an immediate march. A heavy rain fell in at 11 o'clock, continued greater part of the day, which prevented our movements.

**THURSDAY, 26th.**—The army not being perfectly ready to march at 8 o'clock, A. M., agreeable to yesterday's orders, the signal gun for march was not fired until 11 o'clock, when the whole took up the line of march in the following order, namely, light corps, commanded by General Hand, marched in six columns, the right commanded by Colonel Butler, and the left by myself. Major Parr, with the riflemen, dispersed considerably in front of the whole, with orders to reconnoitre all mountains, defiles, and other suspicious places, previous to the arrival of the army, to prevent any surprise or ambushade from taking place. The pioneers, under command of a cap-

tain, subaltern, then followed after, which preceded the park of artillery; then came on the main army, in two columns, in the center of which moved the pack horses and cattle, the whole flanked on right and left by the flanking divisions, commanded by Colonel Dubois and Colonel Ogden, and rear brought up by General Clinton's brigade; in this position the whole moved to the upper end of Tioga flats, about three miles above Fort Sullivan, where we encamped for this night.

This day disposed of one of my horses to Mr. Bond, Captain, on account of his indisposition, obtained leave to continue either at Fort Sullivan, or go to Wyoming, until the return of the regiment from the expedition.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 27th.—On account of some delays this morning army did not move until half past eight o'clock, A. M. Previous to the march the pioneers, under cover of the rifle corps, were advanced to the first and second defile, or narrows, some miles in front of our encampment, where they were employed in mending and cutting a road for the pack to pass. The army marched in same order of yesterday, the country through which they had to pass being exceedingly mountainous and rough, and the slow movements of the pack considerably impeded the march. About 7 o'clock, P. M., we arrived near the narrows, at the lower end of Chemung, where we encamped in the following order; light corps near the entrance of the defile or narrows, and in front of some very extensive corn-fields, some refugee Tories, now acting with the favour of the main army, about one mile in our rear, and immediately fronting the corn-fields. After camping had an agreeable repast of corn, potatoes, beans, cucumbers, watermelons, squashes, and other vegetables, which were in great plenty, (produced) from

the corn-fields already mentioned, and in the greatest perfection; distance of march this day, six miles.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 28th.—Fore part of this day being employed by the general and principal officers of the army in reconnoitering the river and finding out some fording place for the artillery, pack horses, and cattle to cross, to gain Chemung, the defile or narrows mentioned in my yesterday's journal being so excessively narrow, and, indeed, almost impracticable for them to pass.

The following disposition for the marching of the army took place accordingly, namely: The rifle corps, with General Maxwell's brigade, and left flanking division of the army, covering the park, pack horses, and cattle, crossed to the west side of the river, and about one and a half mile above recrossed the same, and formed a junction on the lower end of Chemung flats with the light corps, Generals Poor and Clinton's brigades, and right flanking division of the army, who took their route across an almost inaccessible mountain, on the east side of the river, the bottom of which forms the narrows already mentioned. The summit was gained with the greatest difficulty; on the top of the mountain the lands, which are level and extensive, are exceedingly rich with large timber, chiefly oak, interspersed with underwood and excellent grass. The prospect from this mountain is most beautiful; we had a view of the country of at least twenty miles round; the fine, extensive plains, interspersed with streams of water, made the prospect pleasing and elegant from this mountain. We observed, at some considerable distance, a number of clouds of smoke arising, where we concluded the enemy to be encamped.

Previous to the movement of the army this day, a small party of men were sent across the river in order

to destroy some few Indian huts, which were immediately opposite our encampment. Before the business was quite effected they were fired upon by a party of Indians, who, after giving the fire, immediately retreated; the party executed their orders, and all returned unhurt to the army.

The scout sent out last evening to reconnoitre the enemy near Newtown (an Indian village so called), returned this day, and reported they discovered a great number of fires, and that they supposed, from the extensive piece of ground covered by the fires, the enemy must be very formidable, and mean to give us battle. They likewise discovered four or five small scouting parties on their way towards this place, it is supposed to reconnoitre our army. Since our arrival here a great quantity of furniture was found by our soldiers which was concealed in the adjacent woods. After forming the junction above mentioned we took up the line of march, and moved to the upper Chemung town, and encamped about 6 o'clock, P. M., for this night. Distance of march on a straight course, about two miles.

From the great quantities of corn and other vegetables here and in the neighborhood, it is supposed they intended to establish their principal magazine at this place, which seems to be their chief rendezvous, whenever they intend to go to war; it is the key to the Pennsylvania and New York frontier. The corn already destroyed by our army is not less than 5,000 bushels upon a moderate calculation, and the quantity yet in the ground in this neighborhood, is at least the same, besides which there are vast quantities of beans, potatoes, squashes, pumpkins, etc., which shared the fate of the corn.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 29th.—This morning at 9 o'clock the army moved in the same order of the 26; the riflemen were well scattered in front of the light corps, who moved with the greatest precision and caution. On our arrival near the ridge on which the action of the 13th commenced with light corps, our van discovered several Indians in front, one of whom gave them a fire, and then fled. We continued our march for about one mile, the rifle corps entered a low marshy ground which seemed well calculated for forming ambuscades; they advanced with great precaution, when several more Indians were discovered who fired and retreated. Major Parr, from those circumstances, judged it rather dangerous to proceed any further without taking every caution to reconnoitre almost every foot of ground, and ordered one of his men to mount a tree and see if he could make any discoveries; after being some time on the tree he discovered the movements of several Indians (which were rendered conspicuous by the quantity of paint they had on them), as they were laying behind an extensive breastwork, which extended at least half a mile, and most artfully covered with green boughs and trees, having their right flank secured by the river, and their left by a mountain. It was situated on a rising ground—about one hundred yards in front of a difficult stream of water, bounded on the marshy ground already mentioned on our side, and on the other, between it and the breastwork, by an open and clear field. Major Parr immediately gave intelligence to General Hand of his discoveries, who immediately advanced the light corps within about three hundred yards of the enemy's works, and formed in line of battle; the rifle corps, under cover, advanced, and lay under the bank of the creek within one hundred yards

of the lines. Gen. Sullivan, having previous notice, arrived with the main army, and ordered the following disposition to take place: The rifle and light corps to continue their position; the left flanking division under command of Colonel Ogden, to take post on the left flank of the light corps, and General Maxwell's brigade, some distance in the rear, as a corps de reserve, and Colonel Proctor's artillery in front of the light corps, and immediately opposite the breastwork. A heavy fire ensued between the rifle corps and the enemy, but little damage was done on either side. In the meantime, Generals Poor and Clinton's brigades, with the right flanking division, were ordered to march and gain, if possible, the enemy's flank and rear, whilst the rifle and light corps amused them in front. Col. Proctor had orders to be in readiness with his artillery and attack the lines, first allowing a sufficient space of time to Generals Poor, etc., to gain their intended stations. About 3 o'clock, P. M., the artillery began their attack on the enemy's works the rifle and light corps in the meantime prepared to advance and charge; but the enemy, finding their situation rather precarious, and our troops determined, left and retreated from their works with the greatest precipitation, leaving behind them a number of blankets, gun covers, and kettles, with corn boiling over the fire. Generals Poor, etc., on account of several difficulties which they had to surmount, could not effect their designs, and the enemy probably having intelligence of their approach, posted a number of troops on the top of a mountain, over which they had to advance. On their arrival near the summit of the same, the enemy gave them a fire, and wounded several officers and soldiers. General Poor pushed on and gave them a fire, as they



### THE OLD SULLIVAN MONUMENT

On the Newtown battlefield, near Elmira, Chemung Co., N. Y. This picture shows its condition in the 90's. No trace of it now remains.





retreated, and killed five of the savages. In course of the day we took nine scalps (all savages) and two prisoners, who were separately examined, and gave the following corresponding account; that the enemy were seven hundred men strong, viz: five hundred savages, and two hundred Tories, with about twenty British troops, commanded by a Seneca Chief, the two Butlers, Brandt, and M'Donald.

The infantry pushed on towards Newtown; the main army halted and encamped near the place of action, near which were several extensive fields of corn and other vegetables. About six o'clock, P.M., the infantry returned and encamped near the main army.

The prisoners further informed us that the whole of their party had subsisted on corn only for this fortnight past, and that they had no other provisions with them; and that their next place of rendezvous would be at Catherines town, and Indian village about twenty-five miles from this place.

Distance of march (exclusive of counter-marches) this day, about eight miles.

MONDAY, AUGUST 30th.—On account of the great quantities of corn, beans, potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables, in destroying of which the troops were employed, and the rain which set in after part of the day obliged us to continue on the ground for this day and night. The troops were likewise employed in drawing eight days provisions (commencing 1st day of September). The reason of drawing this great quantity at one time was (however inconsistent with that economy which is absolutely necessary in our present situation, considering the extensive campaign before us, and the time of consequence it will require to complete it), the want of pack

horses for transporting the same, and in order to expedite this great point in view, are obliged to substitute our soldiery for carrying the same.

From the great and unparalleled neglect of those persons employed for the purpose of furnishing the western army with everything necessary to enable them to carry through the important expedition required of them, General Sullivan was at this early period under the disagreeable necessity of issuing the following address to the army, which was communicated by the commanding officers to their corps separately, viz:

#### GENERAL SULLIVAN'S ADDRESS

"The commander-in-chief informs the troops that he used every effort to procure proper supplies for the army, and to obtain a sufficient number of horses to transport them, but owing to the inattention of those whose business it was to make the necessary provision, he failed of obtaining such an ample supply, as he wished, and greatly fears that the supplies on hand will not, without the greatest prudence, enable him to complete the business of the expedition.

"He therefore requests the several brigadiers and officers commanding corps to take the mind of the troops under their respective commands, whether they will, whilst in this country, which abounds with corn and vegetables of every kind, be content to draw one half of flour, one half of meat, and salt a day. And he desires the troops to give their opinions with freedom and as soon as possible.

"Should they generally fall in with the proposal, he promises that they shall be paid that part of the rations which is held back at the full value in money.



### THE NEW SULLIVAN MONUMENT

On the Newtown Battlefield, near Elmira, Chemung Co., N. Y. This monument was erected in 1912 by the State of New York, at a cost of \$20,000; it is 60 feet high, and 15 feet square at the base, and can be seen for miles around.



"He flatters himself that the troops who have discovered so much bravery and firmness will readily consent to fall in with a measure so essentially necessary to accomplish the important purpose of the expedition, to enable them to add to the laurels they have already gained.

"The enemy have subsisted for a number of days on corn only, without either salt, meat, or flour, and the general cannot persuade himself that troops, who so far surpass them in bravery and true valour, will suffer themselves to be outdone in that fortitude and perseverance, which not only distinguishes but dignifies the soldier. He does not mean to continue this through the campaign, but only wishes it to be adopted in those places where vegetables may supply the place of a part of the common ration of meat and flour, which will be much better than without any.

"The troops will please to consider the matter, and give their opinion as soon as possible."

Agreeable to the above address, the army was drawn up (this evening) in corps separately, and the same, through their commanding officers made known to them, and their opinions requested thereupon, when the whole, without a dissenting voice cheerfully agreed to the request of the general, which they signified by unanimously holding up their hands and giving three cheers.

This remarkable instance of fortitude and virtue cannot but endear those brave troops to all ranks of people, more particularly as it was so generally and cheerfully entered into without a single dissenting voice.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 31st.—Took up our line of march in usual order at 9 o'clock, A. M.; marched about four miles and a half through a broken and mountainous

country, and an almost continuous defile on the east side of Cayuga branch, the west of the same for that distance was an excellent plain, on which large quantities of corn, beans, potatoes, and other vegetables stood, and were destroyed by us the preceding day. We then crossed Cayuga branch, where it forks with a stream of water running east and west, and landed on a most beautiful piece of country remarkably level. On the banks of the same stood a small Indian village, which was immediately destroyed. The soldiers found great quantities of furniture, etc., which was buried, some of which they carried off, and some was destroyed. About 2 o'clock, P. M., we proceeded along the path which leads to Catherines town (an Indian village), and leaves the Cayuga branch on its left. About 5 o'clock, P. M., we encamped on a most beautiful plain, interspersed with marshes, well calculated for meadows. Wood chiefly pine, interspersed with hazel bushes, and great quantities of grass; distance of march this day, 10 miles.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st.—About 9 o'clock, P. M., whole army moved together in good order, on a level piece of ground. About 11 o'clock, A. M., we entered an extensive hemlock swamp, not less than six miles through; the path though almost impassible, owing to the number of defiles, long ranges of mountains, ravine after ravine, interspersed with thick underwood, etc. The infantry, with the greatest difficulty, got through about half past nine o'clock, P. M. The remainder of the army, with the pack horses, cattle, etc., were chiefly the whole night employed in getting through.

As the infantry were approaching Catherines town we were alarmed by the howling of dogs and other great



**THE MARKER AT WYSOX, BRADFORD CO., PA.**

Near the site of the Indian village of Wesauking. Placed by the Geo. Clyner Chapter, D. A. R., in 1908.





noise. A few of the riflemen were dispatched in order to reconnoitre the place. In the meantime we formed in two solid columns, at fixed bayonets, with positive orders not a man to fire his gun, but to rush on in case the enemy should make a stand; but the riflemen, who had been sent to reconnoitre the town, returned with the intelligence the enemy had left it. We then immediately altered our position on account of the narrowness of the road, and marched in files through the first part of the town, after which we crossed the creek; in a field immediately opposite, where there stood a number of houses also, where we encamped, and substituted the timber of the houses in room of fire-wood. On our arrival, we found a number of fires burning, which appeared as if they had gone off precipitately. This day's march completed 12 miles.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 2d.—The dismal situation of our pack horses and cattle, of which several were killed by falling into ditches, and several otherwise disabled in getting through this horrid swamp last evening, prevented our march this morning. The fore part of this day was entirely employed in collecting them, which, from their scattered and dispersed situation, was attended with the greatest difficulty.

We this morning found an old squaw, who, we suppose, by reason of her advanced age, could not be carried off, and therefore was left to our mercy. On examining her, she informed us that the Indians, on our approach last evening, went off very precipitately; that the women and children had gone off in the morning to take shelter in some mountains, until the army had passed them; that Colonel Butler promised he would send back some warriors, who should conduct them bye-ways to some place

of safety. She further adds, that, previous to the squaws going off, there was great contention with them and the warriors about their going off; the former had determined on staying and submitting to our generosity; the latter opposed it, and informed them that, by such a step, the Americans would be able to bring them to any terms they pleased; whereas, did they go off, they would have it in their power to come to more favourable terms, should a treaty of any kind be offered.

Catherines town is pleasantly situated on a creek, about three miles from Seneca lake; it contained nearly fifty houses, in general, very good—the country near is very excellent. We found several very fine corn-fields, which afforded the greatest plenty of corn, beans, etc., of which, after our fatiguing march, we had an agreeable repast. After getting everything in perfect readiness, we took up our line of march at 7 o'clock this morning. The roads from this place for about one mile were rather difficult and swampy. We then ascended a rising country, which was, in general, level, excepting a few defiles which we had to pass, but were by no reason dangerous or difficult. The lands are rich, abounding with fine, large, and clear timber, chiefly white oak, hickory, walnut, and ash; bounded on the left for about three miles with excellent marsh or meadow ground, after which proceeds the beautiful Seneca lake, which abounds with all kinds of fish, particularly salmon, trout, rock, that which resembles perch, as also sheep-head.

Previous to our leaving this place, the squaw which was taken here, was left, and a hut erected, of which she took possession. A quantity of wood was also gathered and carried to the hut for her use; she was also provided with a quantity of provisions. All these favours had such an effect on her that it drew tears from her savage eyes.

It is about three miles in breadth, and about forty miles in length. Upon the right, though considerably up the country, is another delightful lake, called Kayuga lake; abounds with all kinds of fish also, and is about forty-six miles in length.

We proceeded along this beautiful country about twelve miles, and encamped near a corn-field, on which stood several Indian cabins; bearing between the light corps and main army an advantageous ravine, and bounded on our left by Seneca lake.

Previous to our arrival here the Indians who occupied the cabins already mentioned, probably discovered our approach, pushed off precipitately, leaving their kettles with corn boiling over the fire. During our march that day we discovered several trees with the following characters newly cut on them by those savages commanded by Brandt and the Butlers, and with whom we had the action on the 29th ultimo.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 4th.—On account of the rain this morning the army did not move until 10 o'clock, A. M. We passed through a delightful level country, the soil of which very rich, the timber fine and large, interspersed with hazel bushes, fine grass and pea vines. On our march we discovered several fires burning, which fully intimated some of the savages were not far off in front of us. We destroyed several fields of corn, and, after a march of thirteen miles, we encamped in the woods, in the front of a very large ravine, and about half a mile from Seneca lake. On account of some difficulties with the pack horses, etc., the main army did not reach so far as the infantry, and encamped about two miles in their rear.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 5th.—About 9 o'clock this morning the army moved through a country much the same as yester-

day. About 12 o'clock we arrived at Canadia, about three miles from the last encampment, where we encamped for this night. Previous to our arrival we entered several corn-fields, and furnished the men with two days allowance of the same. The riflemen, who were advanced, retook a prisoner who was taken last year by the savages on the east branch of the Susquehanna. An Indian, who lay concealed, fired, but without effect on our riflemen, and immediately fled.

On examining the prisoner, he informed us that Brandt, with near a thousand savages, including Butler's rangers, left the town last Friday, seemingly much frightened and fatigued—that they were pushing for Kanandauaga, an Indian village, where they mean to make a stand and give us battle. He further informs us that, exclusive of a considerable number of savages killed and wounded in the action of the 29th, seven Tories were killed; that all their wounded, with some dead, were carried in canoes up the Cayuga branch—that they allow they sustained a very heavy loss in that action.

Canadia is much the finest village we have yet come to. It is situated in a rising ground, in the midst of an extensive apple and peach orchard, within half a mile of Seneca lake; it contains about forty well finished houses, and everything about it seems neat and well improved.

MONDAY, SEPT. 6th.—The fore part of the day was entirely employed in hunting up our horses and cattle, a number of which were lost. About 2 o'clock we took up our line of march, and moved about three miles, where we encamped on a beautiful piece of wood land (interspersed with vast quantities of pea vines, which served for food for our horses), our rear covered by the lake, our flank by considerable ravines.

On the fourth, while on our march, several officers' waiters, who had delayed in the rear, lost the path along which the army moved, and, towards night, found themselves near an Indian village, which had been previously evacuated. They found a quantity of plunder, which they brought off, first putting the town in flames. A captain and a party, on missing, being sent in pursuit, and fell in with them as they were returning to the encamping place occupied by the army the preceding day, and conducted them safe to the army at Canadia.

An express from Tioga, where packets, etc., for the army, arrived this day at head-quarters—received several letters from my friends.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 7th.—At half past seven o'clock the army moved and arrived at the head of the lake about 2 o'clock, P. M. The country we passed through was exceedingly fine, and chiefly along the water for eight miles and a half.

About 3 o'clock, P. M., the rifle and infantry corps crossed at the mouth of the lake, about knee deep, and not above thirty yards wide. On our arrival on the opposite shore, we immediately entered a dangerous and narrow defile, bounded on the left by the head of Seneca lake, and on our right by a large morass and flooded at intervals, well calculated to form an ambuscade. From every circumstance, both as to intelligence and the great advantage the enemy might have had from its situation, we fairly expected an attack. However, we moved through in files, supported by the two flanking divisions, and gained the other side. The main army then crossed, and took our place. We then moved through a second defile, as difficult as the first, and formed again until the main army possessed themselves of the same ground we had

just left. We then marched and passed a third defile, and formed in a corn-field, near a large house, which was beautifully situated on the head of the lake, and generally occupied by Butler, one of the savage leaders.

The light corps, flanked by two flanking divisions, received orders to move and gain the rear of the town. The main army took the path, and marched immediately in front of the same; but the enemy no doubt having previous notice of our movements, had abandoned the town, which we entered about dusk, leaving behind them a number of bear and deer skins, and also a fine white child of about three years old.

This town is called Kanadasaga, and appears to be one of their capital settlements; about it is a fine apple orchard and a council house. There was in the neighbourhood a great quantity of corn, beans, etc., which, after taking great quantities for the use of the army, we totally destroyed; burned the houses, which were in number about fifty, and girdled the apple trees. Distance of march this day, about 12 miles.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 8th.—This day we lay on our ground; the rifle corps, with several other parties, were detached down the lake to destroy a small village, called Gaghsiungua, and a quantity of corn, etc., in this neighbourhood, and the army prepared for a march early tomorrow morning.

Various opinions prevailed among many officers about our proceeding any further on account of our provisions; but General Sullivan, with a number of officers, nobly resolved to encounter every difficulty to execute the important expedition, and determined, notwithstanding the horrid neglect in not furnishing us with provision, horses, etc., sufficient to enable us to carry through the

expedition, even to proceed on with the scanty pittance, and accomplish the arduous task of destroying the whole Seneca country.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9th.—On account of a number of pack horses which had gone astray and could not be found, the army did not march at 6 o'clock agreeable to yesterday's orders. A command of fifty men, under a captain, returned from this place to Tioga to escort the sick and those who were not able to proceed without retarding the march of the army, which is now under the necessity on account of our wants to be as expeditious as possible to complete the expedition; all those pack horses which were lame, or otherwise reduced, likewise returned.

About twelve o'clock the army marched; their first route was over bushy land, interspersed with remarkably wild high grass, and appeared to have been formerly cleared. We then descended into an extensive maple swamp, which was very rich, and well calculated for meadow. After marching several miles, we came to a creek, known by the name of Flint Creek, which the whole, excepting Clinton's brigade, crossed, and encamped on a plain which had just been occupied by the enemy but a few days before for the same purpose. Distance of march, seven miles.

The rifle corps who yesterday went to destroy Gaghsiungua this evening returned. They report it was a fine town, well improved, with a great quantity of corn near the same; likewise, an abundance of beans, water melons, peaches, and all kinds of vegetables, the whole of which they totally destroyed.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 10th.—At 8 o'clock this morning the army took up their line of march in the usual order. Their



route, about four miles, continued through the swamp, which, in some places, was miry, and difficult for pack horses, otherwise the foot would not have been much retarded. We then arrived on very fine ground for marching, which, to all appearance, was old cleared fields, as they contained a great quantity of wild grass as high as the horses in many places. The land contained in this manner (alternately having a strip of wood between) for about four miles, when we arrived at a lake (the name I could not learn), which appeared to be a mile wide, and six or seven miles in length. We marched half a mile along this lake, and came to the mouth, which we crossed; the water was not knee deep, and about thirty yards over; but it narrowed so fast that, about twenty yards from the mouth, it was not in width more than five, but much deeper. We then moved up a fine country from the lake, and in half a mile came to Kanadalaugua, beautifully situated town, containing between twenty and thirty houses, well finished, chiefly of hewn plank, which we immediately burned, and proceeded about half a mile on our right, where we found a large field of corn, squashes, beans, etc. At this place we encamped, but were very badly off for water, having none but what we sent half a mile for, and that very bad. The Seneca country, from its extreme flatness, having no good springs, which is extremely disagreeable for a marching army. Distance of march this day, 9 miles.

In this town a dog was hung up, with a string of wampum round his neck, on a tree, curiously decorated and trimmed. On inquiry, I was informed that it was a custom among the savages before they went to war to offer this as a sacrifice to Mars, the God of war, and praying that he might strengthen them. In return

for those favors, they promise to present him with the skin for a tobacco pouch.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 11th.—Agreeable to orders we took up our line of march this morning precisely at 6 o'clock. We moved through a thicket and swamp near one mile before we gained the main path. The infantry, on account of this difficult swamp, could not possibly march in the usual order, without being considerably dispersed. We moved along this path for about three miles, after which we ascended a rising ground; the country remarkably fine and rich, covered chiefly with pine, oak, and hickory timber. At intervals we crossed considerable clear fields, with remarkably high, wild grass. About 1 o'clock we descended into a most beautiful valley, within one mile of an Indian village, known by the name of Anyayea, situate on a fine plain, within about half a mile of Anyayea lake, which is but small and very beautiful, and abounds with all kinds of fish. This town contains about twelve houses, chiefly hewn logs. About it are several large corn-fields, and a number of apple and other fruit trees. We encamped about two o'clock for this day, after completing a march of thirteen miles.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 12th.—In order to expedite our march, and prevent the enemy from making off with their effects from Jenese, their capital, and last town in the Seneca country, it was determined a garrison of fifty men, with those soldiers who were not very able to march, should continue at this post, in order to guard our stores, viz., ammunition and flour, until our return.

The rain having set in very heavy this morning, we could not move until about twelve o'clock. We then began to march, but, on account of a defile which we had

to cross, could not march in the usual order. After passing the same, we took up our line of march as usual, and ascended a rising piece of ground. After marching about five miles, we came to a lake, which we crossed at the mouth, being about knee deep, and about ten yards over. We then ascended another rising piece of ground, composed of exceedingly fine, rich land, with large oak and hickory timber, and at intervals, with marsh or swamp, well calculated for meadow ground. After arriving within half a mile of Kanaghsas, a small Indian village, which was previously destined for this day's march, night set in, and the main army being at least a mile in our rear, we received orders to encamp for this night, which was in the woods, and exceedingly ill calculated for that purpose, no water being nearer than half a mile. This day's march completed twelve hours.

After we encamped, Lieutenant Boyd, of the rifle corps, some volunteers, and as many riflemen, made up six and twenty in the whole, were sent up to reconnoitre the town of Jenese, having for their guide an Oneida Indian, named Hanjost, a chief of that tribe, who has been remarkable for his attachment to this country, having served as a volunteer since the commencement of the war.

MONDAY, SEPT. 13th.—This morning before daylight we left; the general beat, on which the tents were immediately struck, and in half an hour the army marched into the town of Kanaghsas, which contained ten houses, situate on a flat near the head of a small lake. The flat contained a great quantity of corn, and vegetables of all kinds, which were remarkably well tended. At this place we halted, to draw provisions, viz., beef (half allowance), and to destroy the town, corn, etc.



The memorial of Sullivan's march at Canandaigua, Ontario Co., N. Y., erected in 1902, by the late Dr. Burrill, of Canandaigua, N. Y. The inscription reads: "General John Sullivan and the Con. Army passed near this spot Sept. 11 and 18th, 1779."



Four men of Lieutenant Boyd's party this morning returned, bringing information of the town of Gagsuquilahery (which they took for Jenese— being abandoned. About 12 o'clock we were alarmed by some Indians firing and giving chase to Mr. Lodge and a few men who went forward to survey. They wounded a corporal, who died next day, and chased them until one of our camp sentinels fired on them and stopped their career.

Lieutenant Boyd having retired from the town of Gagsuquilahery to await for the arrival of the main army, which was detained longer than he expected, he sent back two men to know the cause; these two men had not gone far before they discovered a few Indians ahead. They then retired and informed Lieutenant Boyd, who immediately, with his party, gave chase, and followed them within about two miles and a half from the main army, where a body of savages, of at least four or five hundred, lay concealed, and probably intended giving the main army (the ground being favorable on their side), a fire, and push off according to custom, who immediately surrounded him and his party. He nobly fought them for some considerable time; but, by their great superiority, he was obliged to attempt a retreat, at the same time loading and firing as his party ran.

The Indians killed, and in the most inhuman manner, tomahawked and scalped six that were found. Nine of the party have got safe in; but Lieutenant Boyd and Hanjost (the Indian already mentioned), with seven others, are yet missing, one of whom we know is a prisoner, as one Murphy, a rifleman of the party, who made his escape, saw him in their possession. This Murphy is a noted marksman, and a great soldier, he having killed and scalped that morning, in the town they were at, an Indian,

which makes three and thirtieth man of the enemy he has killed, as is well known to his officers, this war.

There being a swamp or morass totally impassable for our horses, in front of Kanaghsas, the infantry and rifle corps passed over, and ascended the hill, wherein Indians lay, in hopes to come up with them; but they had fled, leaving behind them upwards of one hundred blankets, a great number of hats, and many other things, which we took, and then halted until the main army arrived, they having first been obliged, in order to enable them to move, to throw a hedge over the morass.

The whole then took up their line of march, and proceeded to the town of Gaghsuquilahery, through the finest country I almost ever saw, without exception. Before dusk we arrived within sight of the town. The Indians, having thrown themselves in a wood on the opposite side, the following disposition for an attack was immediately ordered to take place, viz.; the infantry, with the artillery, to push on in front; General Maxwell's brigade, with the left flanking division, to endeavour to gain the enemy's right; General Poor's brigade to move and gain their left; the right flanking division, and two regiments from General Clinton's brigade to move round Poor's right flank; the infantry to rush on in front, supported by the remainder of Clinton's brigade. We then moved forward, and took possession of the town without opposition, the enemy flying before us across a branch of Genesee river, through a thicket, where it was impossible for us to follow, we not being acquainted with the country, and night having set in. We received orders to encamp, after making a march of eight and a half miles.

**TUESDAY, SEPT. 14th.**—Previous to our march this morning parties were ordered out to destroy the corn, which they did, plucking and throwing it into the river. About 11 o'clock we took up our line of march and proceeded for Jenese, the last and capital settlement of the Seneca country; the whole crossed a branch of the Jenise river, and moved through a considerable swamp, and formed on a plain the other side, the most extensive I ever saw, containing not less than six thousand acres of the richest soil that can be conceived, not having a bush standing, but filled with grass considerably higher than a man. We moved up this plain for about three miles in our regular line of march, which was a beautiful site, as a view of the whole could be had at one look, and then came to Jenise river, which we crossed, being about forty yards over, and near middle deep, and then ascended a rising ground, which afforded a prospect which was so beautiful that, to attempt a comparison, would be doing an injury, as we had a view as far as our eyes could carry us of another plain, besides the one we crossed, through which the Jenise river formed a most beautiful winding, and, at intervals, cataracts, which rolled from the rocks, and emptied into the river.

We then marched on through a rough but rich country, until we arrived at the capital town, which is much the largest we have yet met with in our whole route, and encamped about the same.

At this place we found the body of the brave but unfortunate Lieutenant Boyd, and one rifleman, massacred in the most cruel and barbarous manner that the human mind can possibly conceive; the savages having put them to the most excruciating torments possible, by first plucking their nails from their hands, then spear-



ing, cutting, and whipping them, and mangling their bodies, then cutting off the flesh from their shoulders by pieces, tomahawking and severing their heads from their bodies, and then leaving them a prey to their dogs. We likewise found one house burned, in which, probably, was a scene as cruel as the former.

This evening the remains of Lieutenant Boyd and the riflemen's corpse were interred with military honors. Mr. Boyd's former good character, as a brave soldier, and an honest man, and his behaviour in the skirmish of yesterday (several of the Indians being found dead, and some seen carried off), must endear him to all friends of mankind. May his fate await those who have been the cause of his. Oh! Britain, behold and blush. Jenise town, the capital of the Seneca nation, is pleasantly situated on a rich and extensive flat, the soil remarkably rich, and great parts well improved with fields of corn, beans, potatoes, and all kinds of vegetables. It contained one hundred and seven well finished houses.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 15th.—This morning the whole army, excepting a covering party, were engaged in destroying the corn, beans, potatoes, and other vegetables, which were in quantity immense, and in goodness unequaled by any I ever yet saw. Agreeable to a moderate calculation, there was not less than two hundred acres, the whole of which was pulled and piled up in large heaps, mixed with dry wood, taken from the houses, and consumed to ashes. About 3 o'clock, P. M., the business was finished, and the immediate object of this expedition completed, viz., the total ruin of the Indian settlements, and the destruction of their crops. The following is a part of the orders issued this day, viz:

"The commander-in-chief informs this brave and resolute army that the immediate objects of this expedition

are accomplished, viz: total ruin of the Indian settlements, and the destruction of their crops, which were designed for the support of those inhuman barbarians, while they were desolating the American frontiers. He is by no means insensible of the obligations he is under to those brave officers and soldiers whose virtue and fortitude have enabled him to complete the important design of the expedition, and he assures them he will not fail to inform America at large how much they stand indebted to them. The army will this day commence its march for Tioga."

Previous to our leaving Jenise, a woman with a child came in to us, who had been taken prisoner last year near Wyoming, and fortunately made her escape from the savages. She, with her bantling, was almost starved for want of food; she informs us that the Indians have been in great want all last spring—that they subsisted entirely on green corn this summer—that their squaws were fretting prodigiously, and continually teasing their warriors to make peace—that by promises by Butler and his minions, they are fed up with great things that should be done for them—that they seem considerably cast down and frightened; and, in short, she says distress and trouble seem painted on their countenances. Distance of march this day, six miles.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 15th.—After destroying several corn-fields, we took up our line of march about 11 o'clock, A. M., and proceeded towards Kanaghsas. Previous to our arrival there, parties were ordered out to reconnoitre the woods, and gather the bodies of those soldiers who fell in the skirmish of the 13th. Fourteen, including those six mentioned in my journal of the 13th, were found, and buried with military honors. The sight was most

shocking, as they were all scalped, tomahawked, and most inhumanly mangled. Amongst those unfortunate men was Hanjost, the volunteer Indian, who fared equally with the rest. About six o'clock we arrived at Kanaghsas, and encamped. We found several corn-fields, which were immediately laid waste. Our march this day, 9 miles.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 17th.—About 5 o'clock this morning the general beat, the tents were struck, and the line of march taken up about 6 o'clock. We arrived at Anyeay about 12 o'clock, being the place our stores, with a garrison, was left. It was not with little satisfaction that we found everything safe. We were not without our apprehensions about them, on account of the intelligence we were fearful the enemy might have collected from the unfortunate prisoners who fell in their hands on the 13th. We encamped in the same order and on the same ground as on the 11th inst.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 18th.—This morning about 8 o'clock the army moved; the rear was ordered (before they left the ground) to kill all such horses as were unable to move along, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands. On our route we fell in with several Oneida Indians (our friends), who seemed much rejoiced at our great success against the Seneca nations. We arrived about 6 o'clock, P. M., at the east side of the Kanadaga lake, where we encamped, after completing a march of thirteen miles and a half.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 19th.—The army moved at eight o'clock this morning in the usual order; excepting a few obstructions they met with passing through several swamps, they marched remarkably steady. On our route we were

met by an express from Tioga, who brought a number of letters and papers informing us of Spain declaring war against Great Britain. They also brought us the agreeable intelligence of a good supply for the army having come on to Newton (about twenty miles above Tioga), to meet us. This agreeable intelligence conspired to make us exceedingly happy, as we had not only been a long time entirely in the dark with respect to home news, but the disagreeable reflection of half allowance was entirely dispelled. We pursued our march until we arrived at Kanadasaga, which was about dusk. When the infantry got up; we encamped on the same ground, and in the same position, as on the 7th, after completing a march of fifteen miles.

MONDAY, SEPT. 20th.—The greater part of the day was employed at head-quarters in holding a council in consequence of the intercession made by some Oneida Indians (our friends) in favour of the Cayuga tribe, who had been for some time past in alliance with the Senecas, and acted with them, and are now desirous to make peace with us. The council determined no treaty should be held with them and a command of five hundred infantry, with Major Parr's rifle corps, were immediately detached and sent to Cayuga lake, on which their settlement lay, with orders to lay wait and destroy their towns, corn, etc., and receive none of them but in the characters of prisoners of war. Col. Smith, with two hundred men, was also dispatched down the north side of the Seneca lake in order to finish the destruction of Gausiunque, an Indian village about eight miles below Canadasaga. Colonel Gainsworth, with one hundred men, was likewise detached, and sent to Fort Stanwix for some business, from whence he is to

proceed to head-quarters on the north river, and join the main army.

About 4 o'clock, P. M., the army took up their line of march, and moved steadily. About half past five they reached and crossed the outlet of Seneca lake, and encamped about one mile beyond the same.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 21st.—The army marched this morning about eight o'clock, and continued moving steadily until we passed Canadia about two miles, where we encamped, near the lake. Previous to our marching this morning, Colonel Dearbourn, with a command of two hundred men, marched to destroy a town on the north side of Cayuga lake, distance of march this day, 13 miles.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 23d.—About 8 o'clock this morning the army marched, and arrived at Catherines town about 2 o'clock, P. M., where we made a small halt. We found at this place the old Indian squaw who was left here on our march up the country. General Sullivan gave her a considerable supply of flour and meat, for which, tears in her savage eyes, she expressed a great deal of thanks. During our absence from this place a young squaw came and attended on the old one; but some inhuman villian who passed through killed her. What made this crime still more heinous was, because a manifesto was left with the old squaw positively forbidding any violence or injury should be committed on the women or children of the savages, by virtue of which it appears this young squaw came to this place, which absolutely comes under the virtue of a breach of faith, and the offender ought to be severely punished.

I went to view, in company with a number of gentlemen, a very remarkable fall of water, which is about one mile above this place. Its beauty and elegance surpass

almost anything I ever saw. The fall is not less than two hundred feet. About 3 o'clock the army moved about three miles further, and encamped on a plain at the entrance of the great swamp, after completing a march of thirteen miles and a half.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 24th.—This morning precisely at 8 o'clock the army moved, and continued their route through the hemlock swamp mentioned in the 1st inst., meeting with much fewer obstructions than we expected, owing to the very dry weather which we had had for this month past. After passing through the same we came to a fine open country, and soon arrived at Kanawaluhery, where there was a post established with a reinforcement of stores, which was a most pleasing circumstance, as the last was issued, and that at half allowance at Kanasaga. On our arrival, the garrison saluted with the discharge of thirteen cannon, which complement was returned them by the army.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 25th.—In consequence of the accession of the King of Spain to the American alliance, and the generous proceedings of the present Congress in augmenting the subsistence of the officers and men of the army, General Sullivan ordered five head of the best cattle, viz: one for the use of the officers of each brigade, with five gallons of spirits each, to be delivered to them respectively, thereby giving them an opportunity of testifying their joy on this occasion.

In the evening the whole was drawn up and fired a feu-de-joie, thirteen cannon being first discharged. The infantry then commenced a running fire through the whole line, which, being repeated a second time, the whole army gave three cheers, viz: one for the United States of America, one for Congress, and one for our new ally, the King of Spain.

The army being then dismissed, General Hand, with the officers of his brigade, attended by the officers of the park or artillery, repaired to a bowery, erected for that purpose, where the fatted bullock was served up (dressed in different ways), the whole seated themselves on the ground around the same, which afforded them a most agreeable repast. The officers being very jovial, and the evening was spent in great mirth and jollity.

After dinner the following toasts were drank, the drums and fifes playing at intervals.

- 1st. The thirteen states and their sponsors.
- 2d. The honourable, the American Congress.
- 3d. General Washington and the American Army.
- 4th. The commander-in-chief of the western expedition.
- 5th. The American navy.
- 6th. Our faithful allies, the united houses of Bourbon.
- 7th. May the American Congress, and all her legislative representatives, be endowed with virtue and wisdom, and may her independence be as firmly established as the pillars of time.
- 8th. May the citizens of America, and her soldiers, be ever unanimous in the reciprocal support of each other.
- 9th. May altercations, discord, and every degree of fraud, be totally banished the peaceful shores of America.
- 10th. May the memory of brave Lieutenant Boyd, and the soldiers under his command, who were horribly massacred by the inhuman savages, or by their more barbarous and detestable allies, the British and Tories, on the 13th inst., be ever dear to his country.
- 11th. An honourable peace with America, or perpetual war with her enemies.

12th. May the kingdom of Ireland merit a stripe in the American standard.

13th. May the enemies of America be metamorphosed into pack horses, and sent on a western expedition against the Indians.

An express with dispatches for General Sullivan, from Philadelphia, arrived this morning, by whom I received a packet enclosing the commissions for my officers.

About 11 o'clock, A. M., the command under Colonel Dearbourn, who left us the 21st of June to proceed to Cayuga lake, returned, bringing two squaw prisoners; he having, in his route, destroyed several towns and a great quantity of fine corn.

MONDAY, SEPT. 27th.—The detachment ordered to march yesterday moved this morning up Tioga branch to an Indian village, about twelve miles from this place, with orders to destroy the same.

Coleman and Caldwell, two of my soldiers, after wandering for seven days in the wilderness, found and joined us at this place. They subsisted, during their absence, on the hearts and livers of two dead horses which they found on the path along which the army had marched.

At dusk, this evening, the detachment which marched this morning returned, after destroying a considerable quantity of corn, beans, and other vegetables, sixteen boat loads of which they brought with them for the use of the army; they also burned a small village.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 28th.—Several commands were ordered out this day, viz., one up and the other down the Tioga branch, for the purpose of destroying corn, etc., of which there was a great quantity left on our march towards the Seneca country.



All the lame and sick soldiers of the army were this day ordered to go to Tioga in boats, and the pack horses least able for other duty.

Colonel Butler, with his command, after laying waste and destroying the Cayuga settlements, and corn, etc., of which there was a great quantity, returned, and joined the army about 10 o'clock this morning.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 29th.—The army marched this morning about 8 o'clock, and continued moving steadily until we passed Chemung about one mile, where we encamped on the same ground, and in the same position, as on the 27th. The two commands ordered out yesterday morning returned, and joined the army at this place about 9 o'clock, P. M., after destroying large quantities of corn, beans, and other vegetables.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 30th.—This morning about 8 o'clock the army moved. About 2 o'clock they arrived at Tioga plains, near Fort Sullivan, where the whole formed in regular line of march, and moved into the garrison in the greatest order, when we were received with military honours, the garrison turning out with presented arms and a salute of thirteen rounds from their artillery, which complement was returned them from the park of artillery with the army.

Colonel Shrieve, governor of the garrison, had an elegant dinner provided for the general and field officers of the army. We regaled ourselves, and great joy and good humor was visible in every countenance. Colonel Proctor's band, and drums and fifes played in concert the whole time.

FRIDAY, OCT. 1st.—This morning the horses belonging to the officers of the brigade were forwarded to Wyoming.

We also sent our cow which we had along with us the whole expedition, and to whom we are under infinite obligations for the great quantity of milk she afforded us, which rendered our situation very comfortable, and was no small addition to our half allowance.

This afternoon Colonel Brewer, General Sullivan's secretary, set off to Congress with the dispatches, which contained a relation of the great success of the expedition.

SATURDAY, OCT. 2d.—This day the commander-in-chief made an elegant entertainment, and invited all the general and field officers of the army to dine with him.

In the evening, to conclude the mirth of the day, we had an Indian dance. The officers who joined in it putting on visors (alias Monetas). The dance was conducted and led off by a young Sachem of the Oneida tribe, who was next followed by several other Indians, then the whole led off, and, after the Indian custom, danced to the music, which was a rattle, a knife, and a pipe, which the Sachem continued clashing together and singing Indian the whole time. At the end of each, the Indian whoop was set up by the whole.

SUNDAY, OCT. 3d.—Agreeable to the orders of yesterday, the garrison of Fort Sullivan this day joined their respective corps, and the fort was demolished. The stores and other baggage with the park of artillery were put on board the boats, and every other matter put in perfect readiness to move with the army, on their route to Wyoming, tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock.

The young Sachem, with several Oneida Indians, relatives and friends of the unfortunate Indian Hanjost, who bravely fell with the party under command of the much lamented Lieutenant Boyd on the 13th ult., who

faithfully acted as guide to the army, left us this day, well pleased (after bestowing some presents on them), for their native place, the Oneida country.

The German regiment, which composed a part of the flanking divisions of the army, was this day ordered to join and do duty with the third Pennsylvania brigade, commanded by Gen. Hand.

MONDAY, OCT. 4th.—This day about 8 o'clock the army took up their line of march. We arrived at Wessaukin about 6 o'clock in the evening, after completing a march of fifteen miles. On account of the rain, marching was rather disagreeable this day.

On my arrival at this place I received a letter, with some newspapers, etc., from his excellency, President Read, which contained agreeable news, etc.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 6th.—About 8 o'clock this morning the whole embarked again, and moved, paying no attention to order down the river.

THURSDAY, OCT. 7th.—Embarked about 6 o'clock, and kept on steadily until we arrived at Wyoming. About 3 o'clock, P. M., the whole army landed and encamped on the same ground, and in the same order, as on the 30th of July.

Thus, by the perseverance, good conduct, and determined resolution of our commander-in-chief, with the assistance of his council, and the full determination of his troops to execute, have we fully accomplished the great end and intentions of this important expedition; and I flatter myself we fully surpassed the most sanguine expectation of those whose eyes were more immediately looking to us for success.

The glorious achievements we have exhibited in extending our conquests so far, and, at the same time, render them so very complete, will make no inconsiderable balance even in the present politics of America. Its future good consequences I leave to the eloquence of time to declare, which will, in ages hence, celebrate the memory of those brave sons who nobly risked their lives, disdaining every fatigue and hardship, to complete a conquest, the rear good effects and advantages of which posterity will particularly enjoy.

Whilst I revere the merit and virtue of the army, I am sorry I am under the necessity of mentioning that there was an unparalleled and unpardonable neglect (and which ought not to pass with impunity), in those whose business it was to supply them with a sufficient quantity of necessaries to carry them through the expedition, instead of which not more than twenty-two days flour, and sixteen days meat was on hand when it commenced. And, although the army possessed a degree of virtue, perhaps unparalleled in the annals of history, in undertaking an expedition on half allowance, which was in every instance hazardous and imperious, yet, had we not been favored with the smiles of Providence, in a continuation of good weather, the half allowance itself would not have enabled us to perform what, from that circumstance, we have.

End of Col. Hubley's Journal.

## CHAPTER IV

### GENERAL SULLIVAN TELLS THE STORY

**T**HE chronicle of his expedition against the Iroquois in 1779—The Devastation of the Genesee Country.

\*TEAGO, Sept. 30, 1779.

Sir: In mine of the 30th ultimo to His Excellency George Washington, and by him transmitted to Congress, I gave an account of the victory obtained by this army over the enemy at Newtown, on the 29th of August. I now do myself the honor to inform Congress of the progress of this army, and the most material occurrences which have since taken place.

The time taken up in destroying the corn, in the neighborhood of Newtown, employing the army near two days, and there appearing a probability that the destruction of all the crops might take a much greater length of time than was first apprehended, and being likewise convinced, by an accurate calculation, that it could not be possible to effect the destruction of the Indian country with the provisions on hand, which was all I had in store, and indeed all I had pack horses to transport from Teago; in this situation I could think of but one expedient to answer the purposes of the expedition, which was to prevail if possible, on the soldiers to content themselves with half a pound of flour and the same quantity of fresh beef per day, rather than leave the important business unfinished. I therefore drew up an address to them, a copy of which I have the honor to enclose you, which

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(\*Tioga Point (Athens, Pa.)

being read, was answered by three cheers from the whole army. Not one dissenting voice was heard from either officer or soldier. I had then on hand, from the best calculation I could make, twenty-two pounds of flour and sixteen pounds of beef per man; the former liable to many reductions by rains, crossing rivers and defiles; the latter much more so, from the almost unavoidable loss of cattle, when suffered to range the woods at night for their support. I was, however, encouraged in the belief, that I should be enabled to effect the destruction and total ruin of the Indian territories by this truly noble resolution of the army, for which, I know not whether the public stand more indebted to the persuasive arguments which the officers began to use, or to the virtuous disposition of the soldiers, whose prudent and cheerful compliance with the requisition anticipated all their wishes, and rendered persuasion unnecessary.

I sent back all my heavy artillery on the night of the 30th, retaining only four brass three pounders, and a small howitzer; loaded the necessary ammunition on horseback, and marched early on the 31st for Catherine's Town. On our way we destroyed a small settlement of eight houses, and a town called Konowhola, of about twenty houses, situated on a peninsular at the conflux of the Teago and Cayuga branches. We also destroyed several fields of corn. From this point Colonel Dayton was detached with his regiment and the rifle corps up the Teago about six miles, who destroyed several large fields of corn. The army resumed their march, and encamped within thirteen miles and a half of Catherine's Town, where we arrived the next day, although we had a road to open for the artillery, through a swamp nine miles in extent, and almost impervious. We arrived near

Catherine's Town in the night, and moved on, in hopes to surprise it, but found it forsaken. On the next morning an old woman belonging to the Cayuga nation was found in the woods. She informed me that on the night after the battle of Newtown, the enemy, having fled the whole night, arrived there in great confusion early the next day; that she heard the warriors tell their women they were conquered and must fly; that they had a great many killed and vast numbers wounded. She likewise heard the lamentations of many at the loss of their connections. In addition to this, she assured us, that some of her warriors had met Butler at this place and desired him to return and fight again. But to this request they could obtain no satisfactory answer, for, as they observed, "Butler's mouth was closed." The warriors who had been in the action were equally averse to the proposal, and would think of nothing but flight, and removal of their families; that they kept runners on every mountain to observe the movements of our army, who reported early in the day on which we arrived, that our advance was very rapid; upon which all those who had not been before sent off, fled with precipitation, leaving her without any possible means of escape. She said that Brandt had taken most of the wounded up the Teago in canoes. I was, from many circumstances, fully convinced of the truth and sincerity of her declaration, and the more so, as we had, the day we left Newtown, discovered a great number of bloody packs, arms and accoutrements, thrown away in the road, and in the woods each side of it. Besides which, we discovered a number of recent graves, one of which has been since opened, containing the bodies of two persons who had died by wounds.

These circumstances, when added to that of so many warriors being left dead on the field, a circumstance not common with Indians, were sufficient to corroborate the woman's declaration, and to prove what I before conjectured, that the loss of the enemy was much greater than was at first apprehended. I have never been able to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, what force the enemy opposed to us at Newtown, but from the best accounts I have been able to collect, and from the opinion of General Poor, and others, who had the best opportunity of viewing their numbers, as well as from the extent of their lines, I suppose them to have been 1,500, though the two prisoners, whom I believe totally ignorant of the number at any post but their own, as well as of the enemy's disposition, estimate them only at eight hundred, while they allow that five companies of rangers, all the warriors of Seneca, and six other nations, were collected at this place. In order to determine their force with as much accuracy as in my power, I examined their breastworks, and found the extent more than half a mile. Several bastions ran out in its front to flank the lines in every part. A small block-house, formerly a dwelling, was also manned in the front. The breastwork appeared to have been fully manned, though I supposed with only one rank. Some parts of their works being low, they were obliged to dig holes in the ground to cover themselves in part. This circumstance enabled me to judge the distance between their men in the works. A very thin scattering line, designed, as I suppose, for communicating signals, was continued from those works to that part of the mountain which General Poor ascended, where they had a very large body, which was designed, I imagined, to fall on our flank. The distance from the



breastwork to this was at least one mile and a half. From thence to the hill in the rear of our right, was another scattering line of about one mile, and on the hill a breastwork with a strong party, destined, as it is supposed, to fall on our rear. But General Clinton being ordered so far to the right occasioned his flank to pass the mountain, which obliged them to abandon their post. From these circumstances, as well as from the opinions of others, I cannot conceive their numbers to be less than what I have before mentioned.

The army spent one day at Catherine's destroying corn and fruit trees. We burnt the town, consisting of thirty houses. The next day we encamped near a small scattering settlement of about eight houses and two days after reached Kendaia, which we also found deserted. Here one of the inhabitants of Wioming, who had been last year captured by the enemy, escaped from them and joined us. He informed us that the enemy had left the town in the greatest confusion three days before our arrival. He said he had conversed with some of the Tories on their return from the action at Newtown, who assured him they had great numbers killed and wounded, and there was no safety in flight. He heard Butler tell them he must try to make a stand at Kanadasaga; but they declared they would not throw away their lives in vain attempt to oppose such an army. He also heard many of the Indian women lamenting the loss of their connections and added that Brandt had taken most of the wounded up the Teago in water crafts which had been provided for that purpose in case of necessity. It was his opinion that the King of Kanadasaga was killed as he saw him go down but did not return and gave a description of his person and dress corresponding with those of

one found on the field of action. Kendaia consisted of about twenty houses which were reduced to ashes, the houses were neatly built and finished. The army spent a day neatly at this place, in destroying corn and fruit trees of which there was a great abundance. Many of the trees appeared to be of great age. On the next day we crossed the outlet of the Seneca Lake and moved in three divisions through the woods to encircle Kanadasaga, but found it otherwise abandoned. A white child of about three years old, doubtless the offspring of some unhappy captive, was found here and carried with the army.

A detachment of four hundred men was sent down on the west side of the lake to destroy Gothseunquean and the plantations in the same quarters; at the same time a number of volunteers under Colonel Harper, made a forced march towards Cayuga Lake and destroyed Schoyere while the residue of the army were employed in destroying the corn at Kanadasaga of which there was a large quantity. This town consisted of fifty houses and was pleasantly situated. In it we found a great quantity of fruit trees which were destroyed with the town. The army then moved on and in two days arrived at Kanandaque, having been joined on the march by the detachment sent along the Seneca Lake which had been almost two days employed in destroying the crops and settlements in that quarter. At Kanandaque we found twenty-three very elegant houses mostly finished and in general, large. Here we also found very extensive fields of corn, which having been destroyed, we marched for Hannayaye, a small town of ten houses, which we also destroyed.

At this place we established a post leaving a strong garrison, our heavy stores and one field piece and proceeded to Chinesee, which the prisoners informed us was the grand capital of the Indian country, that Indians of all nations had been planting there this spring; that all the Rangers and some British had been employed in assisting them in order to raise sufficient supplies to support them while destroying our frontiers, and that they, themselves, had worked three weeks for the Indians when planting. This information determined me at all events to reach that settlement, though the state of my provisions, much reduced by unavoidable accidents, almost forbade the attempt. My flour had been much reduced by the failure of pack horses and in the passage of creeks and defiles; and twenty-seven of the cattle had been unavoidably lost. We however marched on for the Chinesee town and on the second day reached a town of twenty-five houses, called Koneghsaws. Here we found some large corn fields which part of the army destroyed while the other part were employed in building a bridge over an unfordable creek between this and Chinesee.

I had the preceding evening ordered out an officer with three or four riflemen, one of our guides and an Oneida chief to reconnoitre the Chinesee town, that we might, if possible, surprise it. Lieutenant Boyd was the officer entrusted with this service, who took with him twenty-three men, volunteers from the same corps, and a few from Colonel Butler's regiment, making in all twenty-six, a much larger number than I had thought of sending, and by no means so likely to answer the purpose as that which had been directed. The guides were by no means acquainted with the country, mistook the road in the night, and at daybreak fell in with a castle six miles higher up than Chinesee, inhabited by a tribe called Squatchegas.

Here they saw a few Indians, killed and scalped two, the rest fled. Two runners were immediately dispatched to me with the account and informed that the party were on their return. When the bridge was almost completed some of them came in and told us that Lieutenant Boyd and men of his party were almost surrounded by the enemy; that the enemy had been discovering themselves before him for some miles; that his men had killed two and were eagerly pursuing the rest; but soon found themselves almost surrounded by three or four hundred Indians and rangers. Those of Mr. Boyd's men who were sent to secure his flanks fortunately made their escape; but he with fourteen of his party and the Oneida chief being in the centre, were completely encircled. The light troops of the army and the flanking divisions were immediately detached to their relief; but arrived too late, the enemy having destroyed the party and escaped.

It appears that our men had taken to a small grove, the ground around it being clear on every side for several rods, and there fought till Mr. Boyd was shot through the body, and his men all killed except one, who, with his wounded commander was made prisoner. The firing was so close, before this brave party were destroyed, that the powder of the enemy's muskets was driven into their flesh. In this conflict the enemy must have suffered greatly, as they had no cover, and our men were possessed of a very advantageous one. This advantage of ground the obstinate bravery of the party, with some other circumstances, induced me to believe their loss must have been very considerable. They were so long employed in removing and secreting their dead, that the advance of General Hand's party obliged them to leave one alongside the riflemen, and at least a wagon load of

packs, blankets, hats and provisions, which they had thrown off to enable them to act with more agility in the field. Most of these appeared to have appertained to the rangers. Another reason which induces me to suppose they suffered much was the unparalleled tortures they inflicted upon the brave and unfortunate Boyd, whose body, with that of the equally unfortunate companion, was found at Chinesee. It appeared that they had whipped them in the most cruel manner, pulled out Mr. Boyd's nails, cut off his nose, plucked out one of his eyes, cut out his tongue, stabbed him with spears in sundry places, and inflicted other tortures which decency will not permit me to mention; lastly, cut off his head, and left his body on the ground with that of his unfortunate companion, who appeared to have experienced nearly the same savage barbarity. The party Mr. Boyd fell in with, was commanded by Butler, posted on an advantageous piece of ground, in order to fire upon our army when advancing; but they found their design frustrated by the appearance of this party in their rear.

The army moved on that day to the castle last mentioned, which consisted of twenty-five houses, and had very extensive fields of corn, which being destroyed, we moved on the next day to Chinesee, crossing in our route a deep creek and the Little Seneca river; and after marching six miles we reached the Castle, which consisted of 128 houses, mostly large and elegant. The town was beautifully situated, almost encircled with a cleared flat, which extended for a number of miles, covered by the most extensive fields of corn, and every kind of vegetable that can be conceived. The whole army was immediately engaged in destroying the crops. The corn was collected and burned in houses and kilns, so the enemy might not

reap the least advantage from it, which method we have pursued in every other place. Here a woman came to us who had been captured at Wioming. She told us the enemy evacuated the town two days before; that Butler at the same time went off with three or four hundred Indians and rangers, as he said, to get a shot at our army. This was undoubtedly the party which cut off Lieutenant Boyd. She mentioned they kept runners constantly out, and that when our army was in motion, the intelligence was communicated by a yell, immediately on which the greatest terror and confusion apparently took place among them. The women were constantly begging the warriors to sue for peace, and that one of the Indians had attempted to shoot Colonel Johnson for the falsehoods by which he had deceived and ruined them; that she overheard Butler telling Johnson that it was impossible to keep the Indians together after the battle of Newtown; that he thought they must soon be in a miserable situation, as all their crops would be destroyed, and that Canada could not supply them with provisions at Niagara; that he would endeavor to collect the warriors to assist in the defense of that fort, which he was of opinion this army would lay siege to, and the women and children he would send to Canada. After having destroyed this town, beyond which I was informed there was no settlement, and destroyed all their houses and crops in that quarter, the army having been advancing seventeen days with the supply of provisions before mentioned, and that much reduced on the march by accidents, and the Cayuga country being as yet unpenetrated, I thought it necessary to return as soon as possible in order to effect the destruction of the settlements in that quarter. The army therefore began its march to Kanadasaga.

I was met on the way by a sachem from Oneida and three warriors, one of whom I had sent from Catherine's with a letter, a copy of which I have the honor to enclose to Congress. They delivered me a message from the warriors of that nation respecting the Cayugas; copies of that and my answer I also enclose from this place. I detached Colonel Smith with a party down the west side of the Lake to destroy the corn which had not been cut down, and to destroy anything further which might be discovered there. I then detached Colonel Gansevoort with one hundred men to Albany to forward the baggage of the York regiments to the main army, and to take with him such soldiers as were at that place. I directed him to destroy the lower Mohawk castle in his route, and capture the inhabitants, consisting of six or seven families who were constantly employed in giving intelligence to the enemy, and in supporting their scouting parties when making incursions on our frontiers. When the Mohawks joined the enemy, those few families were undoubtedly left to answer such a purpose and to keep possession of their lands. The upper castle now inhabited by Orkeskes, our friends, he was directed not to disturb. With him I sent Mr. Deane, who bore my answer to the Oneidas.

I then detached Colonel Butler with six hundred men to destroy the Cayuga country, and with him sent all the Indian warriors who had said if they could find the Cayugas they would endeavor to persuade them to deliver themselves up as prisoners; the chief of them called Teguttelawana being a near relation to the sachem. I then crossed the Seneca river and detached Colonel Dearborn to the west side of the Cayuga lake to destroy all the settlements which might be found there and to

intercept the Cayugas if they attempted to escape Colonel Butler. The residue of the army passing on between the lakes, toward Catherines. Colonel Dearborn burnt in his route six towns, including one which had been before partly destroyed by a small party; destroying at the same time quantities of corn. He took an Indian lad and three women prisoners,—one of the women being very old and the lad a cripple; he left them, and brought on the other two and joined the army on the evening of the 26th. Colonel Courtland was then detached with 300 men up the Teago branch to search for settlements in that quarter; and in the space of two days destroyed several fields of corn and burnt several houses. Colonel Butler joined the army on the 28th whereby a complete junction was formed at Conowaloala on the 29th day after our leaving Newtown. Here we were met by plenty of provisions, from Teago, which I had previously directed to be sent on. Colonel Butler destroyed in the Cayuga country five principal towns and a number of scattering houses, the whole making about one hundred in number, exceedingly large and well built. He also destroyed two hundred acres of excellent corn with a number of orchards, one of which had in it 1,500 fruit trees. Another Indian settlement was discovered near Newtown by a party, consisting of 39 houses, which were also destroyed. The number of towns destroyed by this army amounted to 40 besides scattering houses. The quantity of corn destroyed, at a moderate computation, must amount to 160,000 bushels, with a vast quantity of vegetables of every kind. Every creek and river has been traced, and the whole country explored in search of Indian settlements, and I am well persuaded that, except one town situated near the Allegana, about 50 miles from



Chinesee, there is not a single town left in the country of the Five Nations.

It is with pleasure I inform Congress that this army has not suffered the loss of forty men in action or otherwise since my taking the command; though perhaps few troops have experienced a more fatiguing campaign. Besides, the difficulties which naturally attend marching through an enemy's country, abounding in woods, creeks, rivers, mountians, morasses and defiles, we found no small inconvenience from the want of proper guides, and the maps of the country are so exceedingly erroneous that they serve not to enlighten but to perplex. We had not a person who was sufficiently acquainted with the country to conduct a party out of the Indian path by day, or scarcely in it by night; though they were the best I could possibly procure. Their ignorance, doubtless arose from the Indians having ever taken the best measures in their power to prevent their country's being explored. We had much labor in clearing out the roads for the artillery, notwithstanding which, the army moved from twelve to sixteen miles every day when not detained by rains, or employed in destroying settlements.

I feel myself much indebted to the officers of every rank for their unparalleled exertions, and to the soldiers for the unshaken firmness with which they endured the toils and difficulties attending the expedition. Though I had it not in command I should have ventured to have paid Niagara a visit, had I been supplied with fifteen days provisions in addition to what I had, which I am persuaded from the bravery and ardor of our troops would have fallen into our hands.

I forgot to mention that the Oneida sachem requested me to grant his people liberty to hunt in the country of

the Five Nations, as they would never think of settling again in a country once subdued, and where their settlements must ever be in our power. I, in answer, informed him that I had no authority to grant such a license; that I could not at present see reason to object to it, but advised them to make application to Congress, who, I believed, would, in consideration of their friendly conduct grant them every advantage of this kind that would not interfere with our settlement of the country, which I believed would soon take place. The Oneidas say that as no Indians were discovered by Colonel Butler at Cayuga, they are of opinion they are gone to their castle, and that their Chiefs will persuade them to come in and surrender themselves on the terms I have proposed. The army began its march from Conowalohala yesterday, and arrived here this evening. After leaving the necessary force for securing the frontiers in this quarter, I shall move on to join the main army.

It would have been very pleasing to this army to have drawn the enemy to a second engagement, but such a panic seized them after the first action that it was impossible, as they never ventured themselves in reach of the army, nor have they fired a single gun at it on its march or in its quarters, though in a country exceeding well calculated for ambuscades. This circumstance alone would sufficiently prove that they suffered severely in their first effort.

Congress will please pardon the length of this narration, as I thought a particular and circumstantial detail of facts would not be disagreeable, especially as I have transmitted no accounts of the progress of this army since the action of the 29th of August. I flatter myself that the orders with which I was entrusted are fully

executed, as we have not left a single settlement or field of corn in the country of the Five Nations, nor is there even the appearance of an Indian on this side of Niagara. Messengers and small parties have been constantly passing, and some imprudent soldiers who straggled from the army, mistook the route and went back almost to Chinesee without discovering even the track of an Indian. I trust the steps I have taken with respect to the Oneidas, Cayugas and Mohawks will prove satisfactory; and here I beg leave to mention that in searching the houses of those pretended neutral Cayugas, a number of scalps were found, which appeared to have been lately taken, which Colonel Butler showed to the Oneidas, who said that they were then convinced of the justice of the steps I had taken. The promise made to the soldiers in my address at Newtown I hope will be thought reasonable by Congress, and flatter myself that the performance of it will be ordered.

Colonel Bruin will have the honor of delivering these dispatches to your Excellency. I beg leave to recommend him to the particular notice of Congress, as an officer who, on this as well as several other campaigns, has proved himself an active, brave, and truly deserving officer.

I have the honor to be, with the most exalted elements of esteem and respect, your Excellency's most obedient and ever humble servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

His Excellency John Jay, Esq.

Some of those who were Sullivan's subordinate officers during the Western Expedition, said afterwards that the above report which he rendered to Congress, was a "pompous account of his military peregrinations."

While it is an account of his "military peregrinations," the word "pompous" should be omitted. True, it is written in the florid style of the 18th century, but we should remember that the revolutionary period was one of great formality and dignity both in manners and speech, and in writing the way he did, Sullivan was only adhering to the custom of his time.

One reason why he was disliked in certain quarters was on account of his mental caliber, as one authority has said, "Sullivan always had the best intelligence of any man in the army," and we all know that the greater a man is, the greater will be the number of his enemies. Washington always entertained a great regard for him and a man had to possess some pretty sterling qualities in order to gain and hold the friendship of "The father of his country." That Washington was no believer in forming quick friendships will be seen by a perusal of the following advice contained in a letter from him to his nephew, Bushrod Washington, written in 1783, in which he advises the young man to be courteous toward all but intimate with few, and let those few be well chosen before you give them your confidence, for true friendship is a plant of slow growth.

Washington never missed an opportunity to show his esteem for General Sullivan, and he ranked next to Lafayette in his affections.

#### AN AFTERWORD

And now, dear reader, that we have accompanied "John Sullivan and his men" through the picturesque and stirring scenes of the great Indian Expedition let us take a glance at the man who was the commander-in-chief. Let us glance at him as he enters his tent to hold

a council of war with his four brigadier generals (Clinton, Maxwell, Poor and Hand), while the army lay in camp on the shores of Conesus Lake. At the time appointed for the council he enters his tent from a tour of personal inspection of the camp. Genial in disposition he salutes each of the officers as he takes his camp stool at the head of the council table. The expression of his sun-burnt face is grave and even anxious. We see a man 40 years of age, 5 feet 9 inches tall, his face is oval in contour and swarthy in color. His eyes are dark brown and his gold-laced hat covers a mass of dark brown wavy hair. He is inclined to corpulency which but adds to the grace and dignity of his deportment. He is full of chest, straight as an arrow and as he sits there at the head of the council table, he looks every inch the brave soldier and gallant gentleman, and he is a man who challenges our respect. His father, Owen Sullivan, belonged to an upper class Irish family of ancient lineage, and as we have seen, came from Ireland to the colonies in 1723. All of his sons were men of note. James became governor of Massachusetts, and William Governor of Vermont, John, the third son (and subject of this biography), received a good education from his father, who was a school teacher, and after taking a trip abroad, read law in the office of Judge Livermore of Portsmouth N. H., and a little later established himself in the small town of Durham, N. H. He retired from the continental army in the late autumn of 1779 and was at once elected member of Congress, and took his seat in 1780, but left the next year to engage in the practice of law. He served two terms as governor of the State of New Hampshire, and one term was Attorney General of the same State. When the United States District Courts were erected in



The house, near Durham, N. H., that was Gen. Sullivan's home for thirty years, 1765-1795. To this beautiful New England home, and the loving arms of his wife and children, Gen. Sullivan returned, after the termination of the successful expedition of 1779. Photo by Lease, Sayre, Pa.



1789, President Washington appointed him judge for the District of New Hampshire. In a letter to the President of Congress, under date of November 9th, 1779, General Sullivan says: "It is with the deepest regret I find myself compelled to request from Congress liberty to retire from the Army. My health is so much impaired by a violent bilious disorder, which seized me in the commencement and continued during the whole of the western expedition that I have not the smallest hope of a perfect recovery. My physicians have assured me that nothing but a total release from business, and a particular attention to my health, can restore me; and my own feelings indicate that even this will fall far short of my own wishes and their expectations." Washington endeavored to prevent General Sullivan from retiring from the service, but seeing that "matters were drawing to a happy conclusion" he persisted, and Congress accepted his resignation, accompanying the acceptance, however, with renewed thanks for his meritorious and patriotic services. As we see him bend his steps toward his New England home, and the loving arms of wife and children, his health wrecked by five years service under his country's flag, and his fortunes depleted, as a consequence of his neglect of his private affairs, we murmur, "Great and good man, may peace and happiness hover about thy declining years, and the smile of God be on thy last hours." Such was not to be, however, for during the last fifteen years of his life he was hounded by creditors, and even death did not end the rugged chapter of a life of rugged fortunes, for under an infamous statue of that day, his creditors attached the body and held it from burial until Colonel Cilley (he who had moved shoulder to shoulder with him, during the great Indian raid, six-



teen years before) drew his pistols, and held the officers of the law at bay, while the remains of the good General were committed to the soil of the old Granite State. His death occurred on the 23d of January, 1795, from a stroke of apoplexy, at an inn, where he had put up for the night. It is sad to think that a man who had faced death on the fields of Brandywine and Germantown, at the cannons mouth at Trenton, and in the wilds of the "Genesee country" at last had to die among strangers with none of his own kin around him. General Sullivan, while he was filling the office of District Judge, always traveled about on the back of a fine grey horse, and it was his habit to tell his wife upon leaving home, to attend court, that if she saw his big white horse coming, without him, she would know that he was dead. He left his wife, who survived till 1820, three sons, all graduates of Harvard College, and one daughter. General Sullivan's niece, Margaret Sullivan, was the writer's great-grandmother. General Sullivan was a very positive man, who entertained and freely expressed his sentiments. He never minced words, but always declared himself freely. His ambition and self-confidence were enormous. Born to rule, he was ill-fitted to obey. No doubt he was a little too independent and out-spoken at times, but reader, let us judge him not, for we should remember that he long ago, went—

"To join the innumerable caravan  
Which moves to that  
Mysterious realm where each  
Shall take  
His chamber in the silent halls of death."

and that long ere this, he has been judged by a supreme power, by Him who has said more than eighteen hundred

years ago, "Vengeance is mine." He was a lineal descendant of Lord Donall O'Sullivan, "O'Sullivan of the Glen's," who was dispossessed of his castles and vast estates, in South Ireland, by Sir Charles Wilmot, and his English forces, in December, 1602. He was a man who was easily excited and quick to anger, but his was not a vengeful disposition, and he was always susceptible to kind words. Like many of his brother officers in the continental army he never received his just rewards from the country he served so well, and the grim reaper, when he came, on January 23d, 1795, found him as poor as the proverbial "church mouse." After the disbandment of the continental army, in 1783, both officers and men strove to secure their pay, which was hopelessly in arrears. Congress had voted half pay to the officers for life, and many had agreed to accept a commutation of this in form of full pay for a certain number of years. Certificates for these amounts were issued but in this as in other cases, it was found impossible to procure the money for the purpose from the States. When the disbandment was finally effected, the officers found their certificates depreciated in value and the State's indisposed to honor them. They consequently received only a small part of their due and in some cases nothing at all. This deplorable result was due in part to poverty but quite as much to bad faith. The country, at the close of the revolution, was in a most demoralized condition, the result of the long seven years' war and the general collapse of public and private credit, which had accompanied it.

As a friend of the great hearted and noble-minded Washington, the brave and patriotic Greene, the chivalrous young marquis De Lafayette, and all the noblest statesmen and generals of the revolution, whose esteem

for him is universally known, and to whom his attachment never wavered, he will be valued for his high integrity, his steadfast faith and his loyal and generous character. Were it necessary I could say much more in praise of General Sullivan, but I think that I have already said enough to show that he was an honest, brave and patriotic, self-sacrificing man and one who deserves to have his name inscribed high on the wall of the temple of fame, as one of the foremost actors in the great drama of the past. The states of New York, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania, have perpetuated his name by giving it to counties, townships and villages.

In the spirit land,  
Stands Sullivan's band,  
In that far distant home in glory,  
But through the years,  
A procession appears,  
Far famed in the world's great story.

The End.

## AN APPENDIX

CONTAINING NOTES, ACKNOWLEDGMENTS, BIOGRAPHICAL  
SKETCHES, ETC.

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF LIEUT. THOMAS BOYD

Lieut. Thomas Boyd, who was massacred near Little-beards Town, on Sept. 13, 1779, was born in Pennsylvania, in 1756, and was, therefore, at the time of his death, in the 23d year of his age. He had enlisted as a Sergeant in Capt. Stephen Bayard's Company from Derry, Pa. in January, 1776, and was transferred to Capt. Matthew Smith's Company in November of the same year, and in January, 1778, was made Captain Lieutenant in the 1st Pennsylvania Regiment. Soon after, with other riflemen, he was detached from his regiment and joined Col. Butler, and subsequently served under Major James Parr, to whose command he belonged at the time of his death. He was of fine physique, and engaging manners. His younger brother, William, fell at Brandywine, in 1777.

The remains of Boyd and Parker, were found by the army the day after the massacre, and buried under a clump of wild plum trees, where they lay in unmarked graves, until 1841. In July of that year, a movement was set on foot by some of the leading citizens of Rochester, N. Y., including Henry O'Reilly, editor of the *Union* (now the *Union and Advertiser*), to have the remains removed to Mt. Hope Cemetery, which was done with imposing ceremonies. Here they lay until 1903, when the Irondequoit Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, had them removed to their present resting place, in the extreme northern part of the great city of the dead.

The writer's mother sleeps the eternal sleep, less than half a mile away.

We can thank the Irondequoit Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, that from a twenty-five foot steel flag staff, the stars and stripes now float, day and night, over the graves of John Sullivan's men.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF CAPT. SIMON SPALDING

At the terrible bombardment of Wyoming, on June 30, 1778, Lieut. Spalding (whose name appears in the roster of officers), commanded a detachment of Ransom's regiment. Almost every shot from the British tore through the fort, and men fell on every side. A soldier of Spalding's threw himself flat on the ground. "Nobody," he said, "can stand this." "Get up my good man," said Spalding coolly. "I should hate to have to run you through. You can stand it if I can" and the man returned cheerfully to his duty. After the war, Captain Spalding was commissioned Brigadier General of the militia of Pennsylvania. He is buried in the little churchyard at Sheshequin, Bradford Co., Pa.

For the foregoing facts relating to Spalding, I am indebted to Mrs. Chas. C. West, of Sayre, Pa., and Mrs. E. C. Rosenfield, of Towanda, Pa. Both of these ladies are descendants of Captain Spalding.—O. E. R.

NOTE—Lieut. Col. Adam Hubley, was born in Lancaster County, Pa. in 1744, the son of Michael and Rosina Hubley. He died in Philadelphia of yellow fever in 1793.—O. E. R.

NOTE—Col. "Tory" Walter Butler was killed by an Oneida Indian in 1781 while fleeing from the redskins, he tripped and fell over a log; before he could regain his feet, the Indian was upon him. The inhuman Tory begged for mercy, but the Oneida, shouting in broken English, "Sherry Valley, remember Sherry Valley" buried

his tomahawk in his brains. Thus passed out of the world, the "Fiend in human form."—O. E. R.

NOTE—It is told of General Sullivan's mother, (who was the writer's great-great-great grandmother) that one time when she was in a gathering of ladies (among whom she was a partial stranger) she was questioned about her Irish origin in a slighting manner. The brave and proud little woman, answered "Yes, I came to America to give you judges and generals."—O. E. R.

NOTE—General Sullivan was a great lover of horses (so is the writer), and after the battle of Brandywine, he remarked that the horse which was shot from under him, there was "the best horse in America."—O. E. R.

NOTE—The force that attacked Cherry Valley numbered 800, and consisted of 600 Indians, 150 Tories, 50 British soldiers and four officers. Of Colonel Walter Butler, Brandt said of him that he was "more savage than the savages themselves".—O. E. R.

NOTE—For the picture of the marker at Wysox, Pa., and the one of Standing Stone Rock, Pa., my thanks are due to Mrs. Sue R. Mercur, of Towanda, Pa.—O. E. R.

NOTE—The Irish family of O'Sullivan derives its descent from Oliol Ollun, King of Munster, who reigned about the year 125 A. D.—O. E. R.

NOTE—The Abbe Belmont, who was the historian of the De Nonville expedition in the summer of 1687, asserts that it was the custom of the Indians "to change their villages every ten years in order to bring themselves near the woods and permit them to grow up again."

This may have been true during the period of the earlier Indian occupation of Western New York, when perhaps the red man depended more for his subsistence on the chase than the pursuit of agriculture. But certain it is that during the later years of their ownership of the soil their villages were occupied for many years in succession. Such was the case with Kanandasaga, for we learn from the manuscripts of Sir William Johnson, dated at Albany, June 15th, 1754, that "whereas the French have long been endeavoring to prevail on the Senecas to come and settle at Irondequoit,

in order to have them nearer to their settlements, the more easily to effect their design of debauching them from the British interest.

The Commissioners are of opinion that His Honor should insist that the Senecas who at present live very remote from one another, to make a general castle near the mouth of the Seneca river, where they have already begun to build a new castle.

In 1746, on the recommendation of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, Sir William Johnson as superintendent, in order to more fully bind them to the "British interests" caused to be erected at Kanandasaga a large stockade fort, whose ruins were visible as late as the year 1845, when the Hon. Lewis H. Morgan of Rochester, N. Y., visited it and made a drawing of its site.

The theory of the Abbe Belmont could hardly apply to this settlement of Kanandasaga, for we have quite convincing proof that it was continually occupied for more than twenty-five years previous to 1779, when it met the same fate as the other Indian towns at the hands of General Sullivan's invading troops.—O. E. R.









